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ABSTRACT

The intention of this handbook is to report on the present situation in the international discussion on peace education and to make further development of this field possible in the peace movement. The first of the three sections contains papers which are contributions on preconditions for and the foundations of peace education, along with discussion of various concepts of the function of peace education. Part two contains a summary of examples which attempt to explain peace education in more concrete terms, both in and outside of school. In these approaches, peace research, peace education and action for peace are seen as directly related to each other, a precondition to reach their maximum effectiveness. A number of reports on efforts to put peace education into practice in various countries are found in the third part of the handbook. Included are reports on the Bad Nauheim Conference on peace education, on different implementation strategies, and on work in peace education in Belgium, Hungary, Great Britain and the United States. A list of contributors is appended. (Author/KSM)

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Christoph Wulf (Ed.)

Handbook on Peace Education

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Contents

Editorial Preface IX

I. PEACE EDUCATION: CONCEPTS AND CONTRIBUTIONS TO ITS FOUNDATION

Kinhide Mushakoji (Japan)
Peace Research and Education in a Global Perspective 3

Saul H. Mendlovitz and Thomas Weiss (USA)
A Framework for the Policy Studies of Global Peace and Justice 19

Michael Banks (Great Britain)
A Critical Appraisal of Research and Teaching on Problems of Peace and Conflict Resolution 35

Ali A. Mazrui (Uganda)
Black Nationalism, Mahatma Gandhi and Pacific Socialization 43

Rajni Kothari (India)
World Peace and Human Dignity 63

G.N. Filonov (USSR)
Educating Young People in the Spirit and Ideas of Internationalism and Peace 77

Sugata Dasgupta (India)
Education for a Non-Violent Society 87

Elise Boulding (USA)
The Child and Non-Violent Social Change 101

Pavel Apostol (Rumania)
Peace Education: An Attempt at Demystification 133

Håkan Wiberg (Sweden)
Peace Research and Peace Education: A Pessimistic Note 137

II. APPROACHES TO THE CONCRETIZATION OF PEACE EDUCATION

Johan Galtung (Norway) 153
On Peace Education

Hans Nicklas and Änne Ostermann (FRG) 173
Reflections on a Curriculum of Peace Education

Jürgen Markstahler, Volker Wagner, and Dieter Senghaas (FRG) 185
Structural Dependence and Underdevelopment

Joachim Hofmann und Reiner Steinweg (FRG) 237
Peace Education: Strategies of Implementation

Hans-Eckehard Bahr (FRG) 271
The Politicizing of Everyday Life: Social Conditions of Peace

III. REPORTS ON APPROACHES TO PEACE EDUCATION IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES

Gerda von Staehr (FRG) 295
Education for Peace and Social Justice

Unto Vesa (Finland) 311
Peace Education: Goals, Realization, Results

Harry R. Targ (USA) 325
Simulation, Teaching, and Peace Studies

Joszéf Halász (Hungary) 341
Some Thoughts on Peace Research and Peace Education

Horacio H. Godoy (Chile) 345
Research and Teaching on Problems of Peace and Conflict Resolution in Latin America

Pierre Deleu (Belgium) 351
Conflict Study and Peace Research in the Revised Belgian Educational System

Ben ter Veer (Netherlands) 359
Developing a Curriculum for Peace Education

Chris A. Leeds (Great Britain) 363
Peace Education in Britain

Judith V. Torney (USA) 369
Political Socialization Research in the United States

List of Contributors 377

EDITORIAL PREFACE

It is the intention of this "Handbook on Peace Education" to report on the present situation in the international discussion on peace education and to make further development of this new field in the peace movement possible. My plan to edit this handbook is based on the perception that peace education has recently become a serious matter in education in many countries. This is accompanied by an increasing interest in peace research and any of its results which are relevant to peace education on the part of many educators. This open-mindedness towards the values, goals and the content of peace research which is frequently set off by considerable interest in education among peace researchers makes education an important area in peace research aimed at the improvement of social reality.

At present we are still at the start of the development of peace education. This is illustrated by the fact that the IPRA Education Committee was set up only two years ago in Bled in Jugoslavia and that the 5th General Conference of IPRA in January 1974 will be the first to have a section on peace education. The fact that we have only recently started to be more deeply concerned with the development of peace education makes this field one of the most challenging in the international peace movement. There are many problems still unsolved which will have to be clarified soon if we are to succeed in establishing peace education in various different regional forms in schools, universities and in life outside these institutions.

It is to be hoped that this handbook will encourage even greater efforts in peace education and will motivate more people to commit themselves in this field of education. Here, the international exchange of ideas and experience about efforts to conceptualize and practise peace education is very important, both within the International Peace Research Association and outside it.

These efforts involve an intensification of cooperation between peace researchers and educators interested in peace education. However, this cooperation should not only concern questions of content, such as deciding on relevant objectives and educational content on a large and a small scale; it must also cover the specific problems of peace education teaching and educational processes and contribute to a more complex understanding of peace education on the basis of the variety of different regional viewpoints. This specifically educational aspect must be given particular attention whenever peace researchers are working on the development of peace education and the requisite strategies in their capacity as subject matter specialists. Because, as wide experience has shown, the complexity of educational processes is all too easily reduced to specialized questions and thus corrupts the aim of peace education which cannot be made equivalent to the teaching of certain goals and contents but which also covers the necessary non-violent, participatory learning and education processes. Therefore, for peace education the question of ways of conveying contents and strategies of implementation is just as important as the question of content and goals. For this reason an international exchange of views on different approaches, concepts and methods is necessary in both areas.

In view of the present state of development of peace education it seemed to me to be essential to include a number of papers in the handbook which are contributions on the preconditions for and the foundations of peace education. They are to be found in part one, along with various concepts of the function of peace education. In choosing these contributions an attempt was made to cover the many views on peace education which are expressed in different parts of the world. In this process considerable divergency emerged in the different concepts of peace education based on different social preconditions. At the same time, the variety of approaches and target groups was also clearly demonstrated. Among other things, this is apparent in the different interpretation of the role of peace education in the framework of political education, in a different view on the relationship between theory and practice and in a varying degree of readiness to criticize preconditions in one's own case.

Part two of the handbook contains a summary of examples in which an attempt is made to explain peace education in more concrete terms, both in and outside school. These contributions, which stem from an explicit understanding of peace education as criticism of society, are based on a critical approach to peace education and peace research. Their point of departure are central concepts of critical peace education 1) such as "structural violence", "organized peacelessness" and "participation". These reports try to give an impression of the interdependence of international and internal social structures of power and dependence in and outside school. In these approaches to peace education, peace research, peace education and action for peace are seen as being directly related to each other, which is a precondition for them to reach their optimum effectiveness in their respective social context.

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1) Cf.: Christoph Wulf (Ed.): Kritische Friedenserziehung, Frankfurt/Main, Suhrkamp 1973.

A number of reports on efforts to put peace education into practice in various countries are to be found in the third part of the handbook. This section includes reports on the Bad Nauheim Conference on peace education which has become a milestone in our efforts to encourage peace education, at least in Europe; it also includes reports on different strategies for implementation, on a Finnish summer course and a Dutch curriculum project. It contains reports on work in peace education in Belgium, Hungary, Great Britain and the U.S.A. Here again, the variety of international objectives and approaches emerges clearly, and at the present stage in the discussion precludes prematurely reducing this work to a common concept of peace and peace education.

In conclusion I would like to express my sincere thanks to all those who have assisted me in this task:
Susan Treiber-Patton for her translation of much of the handbook;
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Cornelia Gross and Sylvia Groth for proof-reading and
Regine Staudenmayer, without whose extensive help as editorial assistant this volume would have gone to print much later.

Christoph Wulf

I. Peace Education:
Concepts and Contributions to its Foundation

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pp. 1-4

to which it feels justifiably entitled. 9)

The realization of the basic value expectations of any group requires a certain allocation of resources (material, human, and information), about which each group has certain concrete plans they seek to realize. 10) Wherever the plans of several groups overlap they enter into a process of negotiation leading either to cooperation or to conflict depending on how compatible the plans may be. In the latter case, groups use power - political, military, or economic - to secure the realization of their plan. Groups tend to be interrelated to each other within power structures where institutions make certain that the power competitors follow the rules of the game. 11)

When a basic value expectation is left unrealized, the problem lies in (1) the patterns of resource allocation, (2) the communication process, and/or (3) the power structures. Peacelessness should therefore be studied in terms of five aspects: group, value, resource, communication, and power aspects.

Peacelessness is a term which can be used to represent a set of concrete events, in which case we speak of peaceless events composing peaceless situations. It is also used in an analytic sense, in which case we use the term peaceless variables composing peaceless systems.

Peaceless situations can be classified in terms of the nature and the geographic location of the groups involved. We can identify peaceless situations on the local, sub-national, national, international, regional, or global levels. Geographically, an ennumeration of all the situations would correspond to all local, sub-national, national, etc. situations in the world. On the regional level, a rough classification can be made in terms of the commonly used terms - the First, Second and Third Worlds in view of the different patterns of resource allocation and power structures.

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9) We give here a definition of peacelessness based on the concept of basic value expectations to stress on the one hand the fact that peacelessness cannot be defined objectively since it depends on people's values which differ from culture to culture or from social class to social class, and on the other hand the relationship which peacelessness has with violence in the theoretical frame of reference proposed by Ted Gurr. See: Ted R. Gurr, Why Men Rebel, Princeton, 1970, pp. 27-30.

10) On the concept of plan, see: George A. Miller et al., Plans and the Structure of Behavior, New York, 1960

11) About the concepts used in this paragraph, see: Kinhide Mushakoji, Kodo Kagaku to Kokusai Seiji (Behavioral Science and International Politics), Tokyo, 1972, pp. 97-104.

Peaceless situations can further be classified according to the predominant issues they contain and the specific events they generate. There are issues related to resources and the way they are allocated, such as the North-South issues, polution issues, energy resources issues, etc.; there are also issues of discommunication, such as inter-ethnic conflicts, inter-religious conflicts, inter-generation conflicts, etc. And there are issues related to the power relationship and the use and/or abuse of power. All peaceless situations where sovereign states compete for more power - wars, arms, races, etc. - all revolutions and other sub-national conflicts where the power holders and the power aspirants compete belong to this category. The abuse of power, human rights infringements, corruption, suppression of political opposition, etc. belong to this class of issues.

The peaceless systems can be subdivided into subsystems according to the variables involved. Corresponding to the resource allocation aspect of peacelessness we have ecological and economic variables such as population, arable land, urban-industrial land, food, energy resources, gross national product, etc. In relation to communication, beside communication and transaction flow variables, we have a variety of social-psychological variables related to the degree of realization of basic value expectations. We have, for example, perceived value capabilities, relative deprivation, frustration, anomie, aggressiveness, perceived hostility, collective violence, image distortion, etc. As to the power structures, we have variables related to power: coercive control, responsiveness, legitimacy, power capabilities, etc., or to power relations and stratification; ranks and rank disequilibrium, control asymmetry, etc. We have also variables related to the groups involved in the power struggle at one level or the other, such as the number of alliances, the number of multi-national corporations, IGOs and NGOs, as well as the statistics about subnational political groups.

3. A Map of the Peaceless World

Peace research has been mostly concerned with the peaceless system. While many case studies have been made about different peaceless situations, no attempts, to the knowledge of the present writer, have been made to organize a body of knowledge as to how peaceless situations are related to each other.

Since its birth, the new discipline of peace research has continually broadened its range of scrutiny, adding more and more *peaceless variables* to its list. 12) In the 1950s, the focus of study was nuclear war and its avoidance. By the 1960s, new theories such as *rank theory* had started to draw the attention of the researchers to the North-South conflicts, to imperialism, etc.: while new definitions related to peace, such as the one we adopted here, peacelessness, or Johan Galtung's *structural violence*, emerged to help a wider perspective in the research for peace.

As mentioned above, we have now a good number of *peaceless variables* belonging to the three subsystems of resources, information, and power. The following list gives only a few of the studies which helped defining them, As to the first subsystem, there are the studies of Rudolph Rummel and Ramond Tanter about the dimensions of international and internal conflicts 13); as to the second, the studies on the mutual perception of antagonist nations before the outbreak of wars made by Robert North and others, as well as the Inter Nation Simulation studies. 14) As to the third, the abovementioned work on rank theory, the case studies of imperialism, etc. 15)

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12) About the development of *peace research* see for example: Mari H. Ruge, "Some Characteristics of Peace Research Institutes", in Bengt Höglund et al. eds., *Conflict Control and Conflict Resolution*, Copenhagen, 1972. See also: Elise Boulding, *The Technology of Peace-Making: a Report on Development in Social Science Research on War and Peace in the U.S.* (Mimeo.) Ann Arbor, 1962.

13) See for example: Rudolph J. Rummel, "Dimensions of Conflict Behavior within and between Nations" and Raymond Tanter, "Dimensions of Conflict Behavior within and between Nations, 1958-60", in John V. Gillespie et al. eds., *Macro-Quantitative Analysis*, Beverley Hills, 1971.

14) See for example: Robert C. North, Dina A. Zinnes, and Howard E. Koch, Jr., "Capability, Threat, and the Outbreak of War", in James N. Rosenau ed., *International Politics and Foreign Policy*, (First Edition). New York, 1961. See also: Harold Guetzkow et al., *Simulation in International Relations*. Englewood Cliffs, 1963.

15) About rank theory, see for example: Johan Galtung, "Rank and Social Integration. A Multidimensional Approach", in Berger et al. eds., *Sociological Theories in Progress*. Boston, 1965. Among studies of imperialism within the peace research tradition, see for example: Claes Brundenius, "The Anatomy of Imperialism: Multinational Mining Corporations in Peru", *Journal of Peace Research*, No. 3, 1972.

Despite this considerable achievement, peace research does not seem to satisfy the needs of those peace agents who work in different *peaceless situations*. While the reality they face is undoubtedly determined by the variables studied in the literature, it proves difficult to apply the "wisdom" of this field of study, for several reasons. First of all, the aggregate data (used for example in studies related to the resource subsystem) do not represent the subnational realities facing peace activists working on the grassroot level. Only a few privileged planners on the national and international level can benefit from the knowledge that more tourism means less conflicts: and to begin with, people do not join tours for the sake of peace. Secondly, the *peaceless variables* included in the information subsystem tend - with important exceptions - to focus on governments and on the decision-makers. Excellent studies are made about how misunderstanding is generated in inter-state relations, but no studies are made as to how grassroot level action groups can establish crosscultural communications among themselves. Thirdly, and this is what matters most, peace practitioners always deal with concrete events. They face not imperialism but a specific case of exploitation, they do not fight against a variable e.g. "coercive control", but work to liberate political prisonners. In brief, it is necessary to relate better the knowledge about the *peaceless system* with the practice in *peaceless situations*.16)

In trying to do so, we immediately face another problem. There are so many seemingly unrelated situations that we do not know how to deal with them. How can we meaningfully relate such dissimilar *peaceless situations* as the nuclear arms race among superpowers, and an ethnic conflict in an Asian village? If no relation does in fact exist, we had better stopped talking about *peacelessness* as a global phenomenon. All the peace agents engaged in their particular *situations* should not be bothered by strangers dealing with unrelated *peaceless events*.

The truth of the matter is, however, that such is not the case in the present day world where *peaceless situations* tend more and more to be interrelated. Today, the following three trends pervade all parts of the world:

1) Technological developments make the exploitation of resources a more and more globally organized enterprise.

2) The increase in the global volume of communication and transaction is breaking the barriers of traditionally closed cultural units.

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16) Such discommunication between peace practitioners and peace researchers is not only due to the relative lack of relevance of the latter's studies. One important peace education problem is to train practitioners in the use of analytic thinking.

3) The power structures in the world tend to be more powerful at the top, but meet a growing pressure from counter-power centers at the bottom.

As a consequence of the first trend, the regional and transnational organization of economic operations (e.g. the activities of multi-national corporations) does not permit conflicts about resource allocation to stay localized. Any conflict tends to spill over either geographically or in terms of the different sectors of the economy.

The second trend helps the propagation of new values through the various communication channels (nationalism, demand for participation, human rights, modernization, etc.). This raises the basic value expectations on the one hand, and creates conflicts between the traditional and emerging value systems (e.g. Western activism vs. traditional Oriental contemplative values). In consequence, there is a tendency for conflicting values to be propagated cross-culturally.

The growing complexity of the power structures tends to link together different peaceless events and situations because power competitors try to build a stronger position through coalitions and by linking the different issues faced by their clients. An example is the escalation of the Vietnam War, where a nationalistic issue is linked to a Cold War conflict.

It is, therefore, more and more difficult to understand what is happening in a particular peaceless situation unless one knows how it is related to others. This is why it becomes imperative to determine the interrelationship between those situations and the peaceless variables, since only through the latter can the spill-over, the propagation and the linking among the former be satisfactorily analyzed.

As a first approximation, we can look at the interrelationship among the different peaceless situations, as we show in Tables 1 through 3.

We distinguish here, quite tentatively, thirteen situations; 1) Super Power Competition (SPC), 2) Environment Destruction (END), 3) Multinational Corporations'unregulated Activities (MNC), 4) East-West Conflicts (EWC), 5) North-South Conflicts (NSC), 6) Conventional Wars and Arms Race (WAR), 7) Oppressive Rules and Human Rights Infringement (OPR), 8) Maldistribution of Resources and Economic-Political Iniquity (MDI), 9) Racial Discrimination and Ethnic Conflicts (RDI), 10) Urban Industrial Conflicts (UIC), 11) Rural Agrarian Conflicts (RAC), 12) Value Conflicts (VAC), and 13) Generation Gaps (GEG). As indicated in Table 1, the peaceless situations are classified according to the eight levels on which they manifest themselves. We can identify intuitively the relationships indicated in Table 1. Whether they exist really or not is an empirical question which requires scientific investigation.

Table 2 indicates the hypothetical bases of these relationships according to whether they are caused predominantly by (1) spill-over on the resource level,(2) propagation on the communication level, (3) linkages on the power level.

In the Table 3, we indicate together with the factors playing a predominant role in each situation, the peace agents expected to work to transform the situations into more peaceful ones. We also indicate peace research theories which can provide bases for the analysis of the situations as well as the basic skills to be developed through peace education.

The Table 3 is meant to indicate the ties which link the different kinds of peace agents, and the close relations between peace research and peace education. It can become a starting point for further investigation into a transnational coordination which we advocate in the next section.

4. Where Research and Education Meet

We come, at last, to the major point we want to make in this article. If local peaceless situations are becoming more closely related to each other every day, it is impossible to work efficiently to cope with the problems in one of them without having someone deal with the problems of the related situations. This requires the cooperation of the peace agents involved in different situations as well as that of the peace researchers who should clarify the role played by the intervening peaceless variables.

A sharing of value concepts, exchange of information about the objective conditions of peacelessness, and consultation about the strategies to be adopted vis-à-vis the power structures is essential for peace research as well as for peace action. This is why peace education and research must be viewed as two sides of a same coin, i.e. the transnational effort where everybody tries to complete his own knowledge about the peaceless situation by learning from those who face different but closely related situations. In this context, the term peace research may be used to emphasize the joint research aspect, and peace education to stress the mutual learning aspect.

With such a perspective we must initiate a peace research-education program which takes into account the following points:

1) Priority must be given to the mutual learning, i.e. research and education, process among the peace agents in different peaceless situations about the different value aspirations. This is crucial for reaching a common understanding about the pluralistic aspect of global peacelessness. It is also a precondition for cooperation among the peace actors who otherwise cannot understand how they can and why they should cooperate with people with motivations apparently alien to theirs. On the research level, it is necessary to develop cross-cultural communication studies about how the different value vocabularies can be translated into other cultural contexts. On the education level, the creation of an attitude open to value pluralism not only intellectually but also in affective terms must be developed. A combination of conscientization aimed at finding by oneself one's own values and of dialogue where one listens to others attentively to understand and empathize with others' values has to be used. 17)

2) An exchange of factual information among the peace agents engaged in different peaceless situations has to be organized systematically so as to find the diffusion, spillover, and linkages among different peacelessness situations. Only by cooperation among the peace agents of different categories - such as peace activists on the grassroot level, peace oriented international organizations, and peace researchers of different disciplines - will it be possible to ascertain how these factors are interrelated, and where lies

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17) A concrete way of organizing dialogues among groups of peace agents working in entirely different situations might be to use an "open-ended dialogue" method. Each group would first discuss among themselves such key topics as "violence" or "how to cope with human rights infringements". The debate would be content analyzed and major themes would be detected, and a list of which could be exchanged so that the groups could find how other peace agents perceive the same problem. They might then have a second discussion, comparing their values and approaches with those of others, sending back to the groups a list of comments and questions to help clarify the reasons why they disagree on some points. Such an exchange of themes, corrected themes, and questionning themes could be content analyzed in such a way as to show a kind of tree structure of the themes shared or contested. This exercise could in this way serve both the purpose of mutual education and communication research.

the weak point in the whole peacelessness system. 18) In educational terms, this means that it is necessary to train peace agents to be able to see those interrelations on the structural level and understand the underlying factors which work for or against the maintenance of those relationships on the analytic level.

This is an especially difficult task for peace education, given the already mentioned tendency of the practitioners to be interested only in the situational aspects whereas researchers look only at the systemic aspects. The difference between the people working on the international level and with a legalistic and programatic approach, and the grassroot activists who focus on immediate solutions of burning issues must also be bridged through education.

3) The third problem concerns organizing the various activities of the peace agents so as to produce an optimal change in the various parts of the global situation of peacelessness. Here peace research must become the policy science of the powerless; studying the decision-making and negotiation processes on the grassroot action group level. How such groups can communicate with each other and devise joint strategies is a problem at least as important as that of how nations negotiate and make their decisions. On the peace education level, peace agents must learn from each other techniques - in nonviolent social change for example - they have developed in their respective situations..Even if they may not be in a position to employ others' techniques, a good understanding helps avoid unnecessary strains among peace agents. For example, if a member of the UN peacekeeping force meets nonviolent demonstrators, it is better

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18) In an informal meeting on human rights organized by the Committee on Society, Development, and Peace (SODEPAX) in Geneva (December, 1971) the representatives of different non-governmental organizations concerned with this issue agreed on the need to coordinate their operation, not only on the international level but also on the national or local grassroot level, to detect human rights infringements, and to cope with them. It was pointed out that there should be established a list of all the organizations concerned, together with the resources they had and the local activities they could perform; and a manual taking into account the legal procedures as well as the psychological, social, and political factors hindering or helping the activities of the human rights protectors was proposed as a means to help local activists.

that he realizes how his role is related to theirs. 19)

4) Peace research, peace education, and peace actions must be linked into a dynamic process - as represented in the diagram of Figure 1. 20). The basis of this process must be the initiatives of the peace agents. Peace research has to put them in a larger context of the global peacelessness, analyze the situation, and propose how the efforts made in different situations can be coordinated in order to cope with the overall peacelessness.

A concrete plan for coordinated action thus emerges. Its realization requires the self-education of the peace agents: activists and researchers. New values must be grasped and new skills developed. The result of this peace education phase should be reported back to the grassroot level or to any other levels where open criticism should sharpen the results and strengthen the initiatives of the peace agents.

5. Conclusion

We have stressed the necessity of organizing peace research and peace education into a transnational network.

Obviously, such a large-scale operation cannot be realized overnight. What is important is to bear in mind this long-range program, and start to build partial networks wherever possible. Even where transnational exchanges are unpracticable for lack of means or because of political obstacles, one must be prepared to open communication as soon as this becomes possible. Such openness must form part of all peace research projects and peace education programs. Too closed and self sufficient systems, whether in research

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19) In this respect the approach used by the Peace Academy during its summer program in Finland (1971) is very useful, since it gave an occasion for the peacekeepers - the members of the UN Peace Keeping Forces, the peacemakers - the diplomats, and the peacebuilders - the nonviolent activists, to come together and discuss common problems as well as difference of their value positions.

20) The diagram is applied from Shoichi Nakai's committee logic, a method of making decisions which avoids the alienating process usually accompanying this operation. Cf. Shoichi Nakai, Ronri to sono Jissen (Logic and its actualization), Tokyo, 1972, pp. 286-298.

or in education, tend to force away outside interlocutors who cannot find their place in them.

The above partial measures - and many others as well - should be taken in preparation of the global network, which in the due course can become a counterveiling influence against the global network which reinforce peacelessness throughout the world.

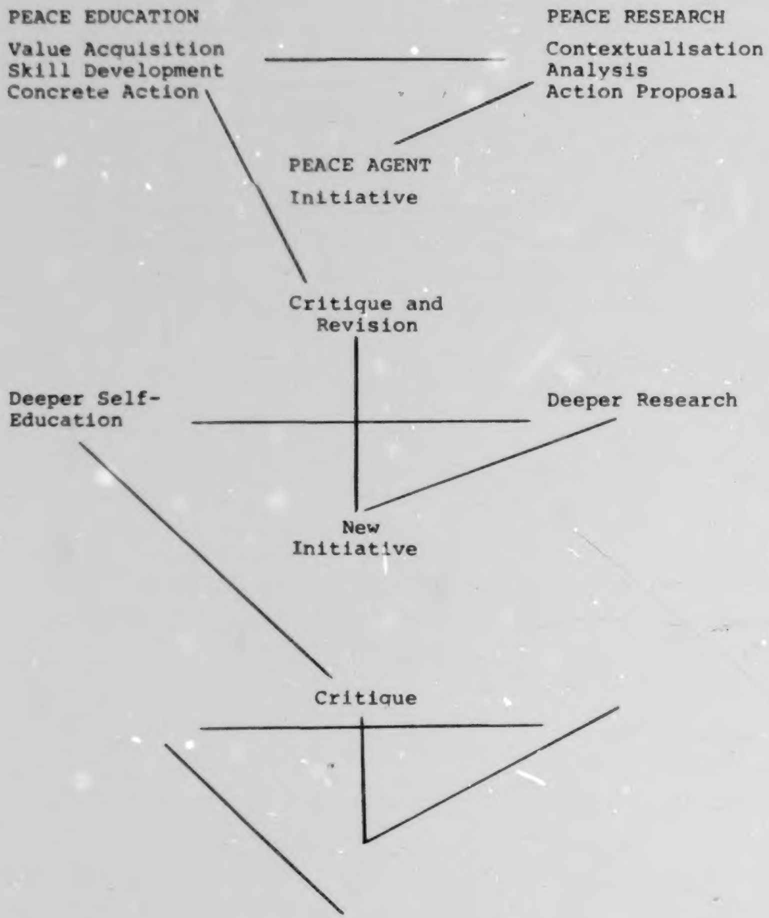
PEACE EDUCATION
Value Acquisition
Skill Development
Concrete Action
PEACE RESEARCH
Contextualisation
Analysis
Action Proposal
PEACE AGENT
Initiative
Critique and Revision
Deeper Self-Education
Deeper Research
New Initiative
Critique

Figure 1.

Level	Peaceless Situations
Gobal	Superpower competition
	Environment destruction
Transnational	Multi-national corporation
Interregional	East-West conflicts
	North-South conflicts
International	Conventional wars and arms race
National	Oppressive rule & Human rights
	Maldistribution & inequity
Subnational	Racial discrimination, ethnic conflicts
Local	Urban industrial conflicts
	Rural agrarian conflicts
Individual	Value conflicts Generation gaps

Linkage among peaceless situations

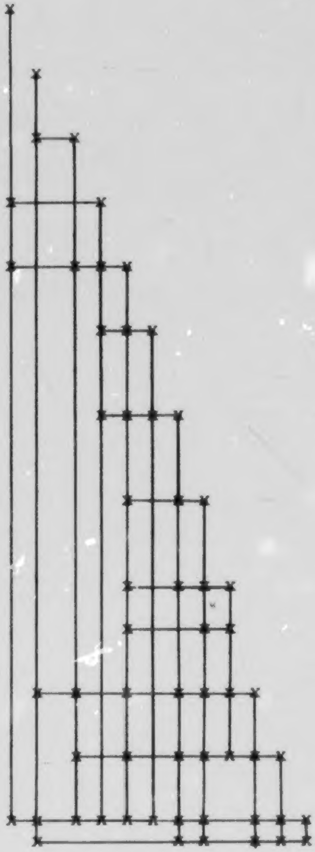

Table 1.

	SPC	END	MNC	EWC	NSC	WAR	OPR	MDI	RDI	UIC	RAC	VAC	GEG
SPC		-	-	L.	L.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
END			S.L.	-	-	-	-	-	-	S.	-	P.	P.
MNC				-	S.	-	-	-	-	S.L.	S.L.	P.	P.
EWC					L.	L.	L.	-	-	-	-	P.L.	-
NSC						L.	S.L.	S.	P.L.	P.L.	P.L.	P.L.	-
WAR							L.	-	-	-	-	P.L.	-
OPR								P.L.	L.	L.	L.	P.L.	P.L.
MDI									S.L.	S.L.	S.L.	P.L.	P.L.
RDI										P.L.	P.L.	P.L.	-
UIC											P.L.	P.L.	P.L.
RAC												P.L.	P.L.
VAC													P.
GEG													

Table 2

Level		Predominant Factors	Peace Agents	Peace Research	Peace Education
1.Global	Superpower competition	P.	O(1),M(3) P(3),E(2)	PD,RP CR,DC	PM,PK
	Environment destruction	R.	O(5),P(1,4) E(6)	FU,SA	PB
2.Trans-national	Multi-national corporations	R.P.	O(2),P(2,4)	IO,RT IM	PB
3.Inter-regional	East-West conflicts	P.C.	O(3),M(3) P(1),E(2)	PD,RP,DC CR,TT,IR	PM,PK
	North-South conflicts	R.P.	O(3,4,5), M(3),P(1),E(3,6)	RT,TT SA,IM	PB,PM
4.Inter-national	Conventional wars and arms race	P.	O(2),M(3) P(3),E(4)	CR,RT DM,RP DC,TR	PK,PM
5.National	Oppressive rule & human rights	P.	O(5,2),P(1.2) E(5.6)	RT,CP DC,PO	PB
	Maldistr.& inequity	P.R.	O(4.5),P(4) E(5,6)	RT,IM	PB
6.Sub-national	Racial discrimination	C.P.	O(2,4),P(1,2) E(5.6)	DC,IR	PB
	Ethnic conflict	C.P.	O(4,5),M(5) E(6)	DC,IR	PM,PB
7.Local	Urban industrial conflicts	R.C.	O(5.6),M(6) P(4),E(6)	FU,SA RT,DC	PB,PM
	Rural agrarian conflicts	R.P.	O(5.6),M(6) P(4),E(6)	FU,SA RT,DC	PB,PM
8.Individual	Value conflicts	C.	O(1,2.6) M(5.6),E(5.6.7)	IR,PO	PM
	Generation gaps	C.	O(1,2 ..6) M(5.6),E(5.6.7)	IR,PO	PM

R = Resources
C = Communic.
P = Power

O = Organizers
M = Mediators
P = Planners
E = Educators

PD=Prisoners Dilemma
RP=Richardson Processes
CR=Conflict Resolution
DC=Dimensions of Conflict
FU=Future World Order Models
SA=Systems Anal.
IO=Internat.Org.
RT=Rank Theory
IM=Imperialism
TT=Transaction Theory
IR=Image Resear.
CP=Comparative Politics
PO=Public Opinion
DM=Decision-Mak.

PK=Peace Keeping
PM=Peace Making
PB=Peace Building

Table 3.

SAUL H. MENDLOVITZ and THOMAS WEISS (USA)

A FRAMEWORK FOR THE POLICY STUDIES OF GLOBAL PEACE AND JUSTICE

I do not wish to seem overdramatic but I can only conclude from the information that is available to me as Secretary-General, that the members of the United Nations have perhaps ten years left in which to subordinate their ancient quarrels and launch a global partnership to curb the arms race, to improve the human environment, to defuse the population explosion, and to supply the required momentum to development efforts.

If such a global partnership is not forged within the next decade, then I very much fear that the problems I have mentioned will have reached such staggering proportions that they will be beyond our capacity to control.

U THANT, 1969.

We must remember that the only time in the history of the world that we have had any extended periods of peace is when there has been a balance of power. It is when one nation becomes infinitely more powerful in relation to its potential competitor that the danger of war arises. So I believe in a world in which the United States is powerful. I think it will be a safer world and a better world if we have a strong, healthy United States, Europe, Soviet Union, China, Japan, each balancing the other, not playing one against the other, an even balance.

.... Richard M. Nixon, 1972.

Introduction

Our assignment in this brief article is to indicate what we believe to be a framework for the policy studies of global peace and justice. We intend to pursue that assignment in a rather straightforward, in fact almost "naive realism" fashion. That is to say, we shall not concern ourselves with a host of subtle, important and relatively complicated questions which academicians and sophisticated political activists would prefer be clarified, given the intellectual and political difficulties of such an assignment. We will not for example, explore the issue of whether "ideas are the switchmen" of history, i.e., what is the relationship of ideas to action. The question of whether there is a uni-causal frame of reference for understanding war or a multi frame of reference will also be glossed over. Nor will there be a major discussion of the extent to which counter-intuitive behavioral systems analyses are needed for an understanding of our present circumstances.

And finally, by way of illustration, we will not explicate a philosophy of history and, at least consciously, will avoid subscribing for the moment at least, to any particular intellectual or ideological position on the nature of human society.

Having made these disclaimers, we nevertheless wish to make clear that we are aware that all of these matters are very much in fact woven into our exposition. We are very much aware that one cannot avoid taking positions on the issues raised by these questions. Nor do we wish to. However we hope to perform a service, which while recognizing the complexities of the issues raised above, nevertheless bypasses them, in the sense that our "naive realism" will provide a comprehensive but guiding frame of reference for those interested in achieving global peace and social justice.

And because one must begin somewhere, we wish to initiate our discussion with the two quotations which introduce this article, and again in a simple fashion.

First we wish to indicate our agreement with the position taken by former Secretary-General U Thant in 1969. We believe there is a set of global problems and that we have a decade to begin to make some substantial progress in dealing with it or otherwise they "will have reached such staggering proportions that they will be beyond our capacity to control". Secondly, in some sense this article and frame of reference presented here, attempt to provide an evaluative frame of reference for the statement made by the President of the United States in 1972. That is, we want to know whether the image of a five power balance of power world for the latter part of the 20th century seems sufficient, adequate, fair and just, to deal with the problems presented by U Thant. We would urge all individuals concerned, either as academicians or as political activists, to see the questions posed by U Thant, and the solution provided by President Nixon, as the underlying world order issue of the next five years. For it is a basic principle of this frame of reference that it is essential for large numbers of individuals throughout the world to begin to produce more humane and compassionate visions of the global world order than that proposed by President Nixon.

The underlying premise for this paper is that during the past two decades there has been an increasing number of responsible-thoughtful-progressive individuals and groups throughout the globe, who have come to understand that the human race faces a set of global problems that threaten the survival of the human race, and raise serious doubt as to whether or not we will be able to provide a tolerable quality of life style for all human beings. Furthermore, like U Thant, many of these individuals feel that these problems must be dealt with rapidly and systematically. In addition, they are in possession of much of the data underlying U Thant's statement, and perhaps it might be sensible, just for the purposes of a common set of data, to present some of the figures which the former Secretary-General must have had in mind.

The armaments race, which accounted for 100 billion dollars of the world economic system in 1963, now costs well over 200 billion dollars, and by the end of the '70's is likely to consume over 300 billion dollars. Furthermore, it is likely that a minimum of three and as many as six other nation-states will have joined the club of nuclears. To select but one item among the many troublesome trends that threaten our environment: Using 1950 as a base line, conservative estimates indicate that the carbon monoxide in our atmosphere will increase a minimum of 15% by the year 2000, with effects, while not yet clearly understood, likely to have very severe if not tragic consequences for human society. Human population: having increased from one billion to two billion between the period 1830-1930, to 3.3 billion by 1971 and with a very high probability of reaching 5.8 billion by the year 2000, suggests a host of problems with regard to welfare, development, social justice, authority processes and the outbreak of violence. Finally, again utilizing conservative estimates: presently the twenty to twenty-five most developed states have a per capita income which is twelve to fourteen times as great as the other 120 states; this gap is likely to increase to twenty to one by the year 2000, with, it should also be noted, 50% of the projected population of six billion probably no better off than they are today, namely living on $ 100 to $ 125 per capita income. It is likely that the lower 10%, i.e., 600 million people will be living on $ 50 per capita income.

These figures are of course straight line projections and not only do not reveal the dynamics of the social processes which propel the projections, but give no clue to the kinds of social programming which will be necessary if we are to avoid the potential catastrophe these numbers suggest.

As we suggested above, we believe that this set of problems is well known to responsible-thoughtful-progressive individuals throughout the globe. Furthermore, we believe that many of them are working on remedies to solve these problems. As we see it however, there has been no consensus either on the world we wish to achieve or on a strategy of transition for achieving that world. On some other occasion we hope to spell out our ideas on these two questions. Here however, we have a much less ambitious purpose. We would like to provide a frame of reference so that all persons interested in these problems would recognize their availability and common understanding to like minded people throughout the world. And to provide then a systematic way for these like minded individuals to carry on disussion and initiate processes that will bring about remedies for the questions posed by U Thant, and introduce a global political system for the realization of world order values. We shall provide below a formal definition and matrix for this frame of reference, but it seems appropriate to say just a few more words about our "naive realism".

As we see it, war, social injustice, poverty and ecocide (in which we include the notions of pollution, resource depletion and over-population) are phenomena which the vast bulk of mankind has participated in and accomodated to throughout its recorded history. Humanity has, in other words, considered these matters to be "in the nature of things".

Foremost amongst these is the institution of war. It is still a conviction widely held throughout the world that war, springing from aggressive impulses in man, is an inevitable and enduring institution of human society. The pervasiveness of this conviction does not seem to be diminished by the fact that scientific data tend to undermine the belief that large-scale organized violence is a necessary outgrowth of the aggressive impulses experienced by the human species. Perhaps we should note here that our understanding of the human mind and social psychology leads toward the conclusion that while man may be an aggressive animal, his aggressive impulses may take various forms, many of which are actually constructive in ways probably indispensable to the future of civilization.

Furthermore we should note that the attempt to eliminate war as an institution--rather than merely to diminish its horror and brutality--is of relatively recent vintage. The League of Nations aside (since neither the United States nor a large number of other states ever were members), it can be said fairly that the first major attempt to outlaw war was to be found in the Kellogg-Briand pact of 1927, where for the first time in the history of mankind, the leaders of the majority of nation-states which had the capacity to initiate international wars, renounced war as an instrument of national policy. In 1945 the creation of the United Nations, building on the League of Nations and the Kellogg-Briand pact, represented an even more significant commitment to outlawing war. Nevertheless it is true that the United Nations has had only the most modest success over the first twenty-five years of its existence. The present world political system, dominated by individual nation-states, states which refuse to surrender sovereignty on matters concerning their own security, now bears within itself the threat of such large scale violence that the institution of war has emerged as one of the great survival problems of mankind.

Here we now wish to state a fundamental thesis, but not give it the benefit of full argument. It is our position that poverty, social injustice and ecocide are inseparable from the future of war. That in fact, these four problems must now generally be recognized as worldwide problems. To be sure, each of these problems has to some extent, different natural histories in civilizations. Today however, in the contemporary world, they stand out as a set of interrelated crucial problems which must be solved. In fact they constitute a systemic crisis of the greatest magnitude.

So that our own biases might be made clear, we should like to add a few more introductory remarks concerning what we consider to be the most significant social processes of the modern era. During the last few centuries two revolutions, the scientific-technological and egalitarian-ideological, have brought these problems to an explosive global point. The incredible growth and tempo of the technological revolution has made it possible for one or more nation-states, acting on its own authority, to destroy much of mankind in minutes' time. Furthermore it is increasingly clear that the revolutions in energy, computers and bio-chemistry will open up problems, challenges and opportunities for which the world is at the moment very much unprepared.

The explosion of egalitarian ideologies into mass consciousness has led to an unprecedented situation in which demands for justice and improved conditions of material well-being are being made with ever-increasing insistence. The prolonged inability of nations to control the burgeoning world population, to moderate the race between the depletion of resources and the long term achievement of universal welfare and ecological stability, to control the eruption into violence of newborn and ancient rivalries and tensions, and to achieve minimal standards of social justice, is leading to the breakdown of structures of authority, and continued widespread pervasive suffering.

Despite these processes we wish to make clear that we believe it is within the grasp of mankind to eliminate war as a human social institution and to provide tolerable conditions of economic welfare, social justice and ecological stability. We would remind the reader that human sacrifice, cannibalism and slavery are human institutions which at one time or another existed in many societies throughout the globe, but it now seems clear that they are unlikely to re-enter global society within the foreseeable future. The history of their elimination is extremely complex, and we will therefore not rehearse here the lessons to be learned from that history. What we do wish to suggest however, is that the four problems we have referred to are of no greater magnitude than those institutions which have already been eliminated, and that with appropriate social action--that means political mobilization based on understanding of political processes--it will be possible to accomplish this task.

Again we wish to make clear that we do not consider what has been said thus far to be particularly novel. Some readers may consider it to be controversial and a smaller number (hopefully) may even consider the presentation silly. What we are trying to do here however, is to provide a primer that points the way to deal with the global problems. Once this is done, our hope would be that a sufficient critical mass of individuals and groups throughout the world would mobilize themselves for the discussion and ensuing political action necessary to change the present system of international relations.

Definition of World Order

We present now a definition and methodology for the policy studies of global peace and justice. We have used the term "world order" instead of peace and justice, for we feel that that term more easily comprehends all the global problems which have now come to be understood as significant for achieving survival and an adequate standard of life for common humanity. But we have no disagreement with those who would prefer to use the term "peace and justice".

World Order is used here to designate that study of international relations and world affairs which focuses primarily on the questions of how to reduce significantly the likelihood of international violence and to create tolerable conditions of worldwide economic welfare, social justice and ecological stability. In more connotative but less precise terminology the question reads, how to achieve and maintain a warless and more just world and improve the quality of human life.

So understood, the substantive matters comprehended by world order are a range of actors--world institutions, international organizations, regional arrangements, transnational actors, the nation-state, infra-national groups, and the individual--as they relate to the following dimensions of world political and community processes: peace-keeping, third party resolution of disputes and other modes of pacific settlement, disarmament and arms control, economic development and welfare, the technological and scientific revolutions, ecological stability, and human and social rights.

Methodologically, the inquiry involves the use of relevant utopias culminating in the statement of the investigator's preferred world.

A *relevant utopia* consists in projecting a reasonably concrete behavioral model or image of a system of world political and social processes capable of preventing organized international violence and providing adequate worldwide economic welfare, social justice and ecological stability, *and* a similarly concrete behavioral statement of transition from the present system to the model. Operationally, the use of relevant utopias also involves an analysis of the present system of world political and social processes as they relate to these problems. In addition, relevant utopias must describe in as rigorous a manner as possible, the trends and prognoses with respect to these problems over a one to three decade period. (Within this context relevance means that both the model and the transition must be sufficiently described in behavioral terms so that the intelligent reader as well as the formulator has a reasonable basis for making a statement about the probabilities of the emergence of such a model. It does not mean that the model or utopia is politically feasible).

Transition involves describing how the present system is likely to and/or will be transformed to the projected model or image. In dealing with transition, special emphasis is given to the possibility of system change absent or without recourse to large-scale violence.

A preferred world is a blueprint of a recommended structure, and recommended guidelines and steps for achieving that structure in order to maximize world order values, described again in reasonably concrete behavioral terms. It is from testing alternative world order models and transition processes, structures and strategies (that is from a set of relevant utopias) that the investigator is able to select or invent from various facets of these relevant utopias, his preferred world.

Throughout the inquiry formalized authoritative structures and processes of world legal order are given special emphasis, especially as they relate to relevant political, economic and social processes and structures which militate for and against achieving and maintaining the underlying community of a warless, more just and ecologically stable world.

Finally, a continuous effort needs to be made to state operational definition(s) of "world interest" in terms of the central problems.

MATRIX FOR THE STUDY OF WORLD ORDER

World Values with Minimal-Maximal Range

Inter-Actor Violence	(minimization of violence - to - prevention of violence)
Economic Welfare	(creation of tolerable conditions - to - maintenance of prosperity)
Social Justice	(creation of tolerable conditions - to - maintenance of human dignity)
World Ecological Balance	(restoration of balance - to - preservation of balance)
Participation	(Positive self -identity - to - active involvement in achievement of a preferred world system)

Achievement Scale
1 (low) - 5 (high)

Substantive Dimensions ⟶ (processes		Arms Policy	Peace-keeping	Conflict Resolution	Economic Welfare	Technological & Scientific Rev.	Environment	Social Justice
Dimension Elements ⟶								
World Actors* (Structures) ↓	Year							
World	1970							
	1980							
	1990							
	2000							
International	1970							
	1980							
	1990							
	2000							
Regional	1970							
	1980							
	1990							
	2000							
Transnational	1970							
	1980							
	1990							
	2000							
Nation-State	1970							
	1980							
	1990							
	2000							
Infranational	1970							
	1980							
	1990							
	2000							
Individual	1970							
	1980							
	1990							
	2000							

*Social Movements, Institutions, Organizations

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March 1970

A number of points should be made concerning the relationship between the Matrix and the Definition before we continue our exposition. First it should be noted that both in the Introduction and in the Definition, four problems were identified, whereas in the Matrix we have identified five values. This leads to the point that, while we are isolating problems, our response to them is not in terms of "solutions", but as human values to be realized. That is to say, we prefer to use the term "values" which has a dynamic and process oriented connotation, rather than the term "solutions" which seems to us to be too definitive and static, and insufficiently open for continuing change.

Second, the Matrix identifies participation as a fifth value, albeit it is not listed as one of the problems. This apparent discrepancy stems from the fact that a goodly number of individuals conceive of participation to be a part of the problem of social injustice for the value of social justice. However in our own work we have concluded that participation is such an important ethical and pragmatic component in the construction of viable global political society that we wish to isolate it and give it the significance and dignity which we have given to the other problems.

It should also be noted that while the time periods shown in the Matrix run from the decade 1970 to the year 2000, there is theoretically no reason why this particular frame of reference could not be utilized to review, analyse and evaluate all of recorded history, past and future, albeit the data would not always be available for the various epochs. But here we wish to make another bias very clear. We feel that most of the contemporary work done in futurology has failed abysmally in dealing with discontinuity, let alone the possibility that man may shape his own future. We would urge individuals concerned with global peace and justice therefore to try as much as possible to wrench themselves from history; to provide scenarios of the future which would be actual guidelines for our political behavior in the contemporary world. It is this shaping of the future towards which the entire frame of reference is pointed.

Some Additional Problems of Studying Global Peace and Justice

We turn now to some additional items involved in the Definition and Matrix.

1. Initially, it is important to note that international relations and world affairs have been conjoined in the first paragraph of the Definition. This formulation recognizes that in the images put forward by social scientists and decision makers, the nation-state system is still the central dynamic process of world politics. It is our view that it would be impossible to consider the present global system without taking into account the nation-state system. Nevertheless

we do feel that that system is no longer a sufficiently accurate empirical depiction of today's world, and, as we shall argue below, it is less likely to be so in the long run.

2. Our next point reiterates the argument which was made in the Introduction, namely that this framework for peace and justice is problem-solving and value realizing in its orientation. And at this juncture at least does not seek to put forward a global ideological position. The important point is that all responsible-progressive people around the world have now recognized these four problems as crucial to global survival and tolerable quality of life style.

One additional fundamental point should be made here. Solutions to these problems do not necessarily imply global institutions. The problem-resolving networks can be communal, local, national, transnational, regional or global. Furthermore it should be clearly understood that the lines between domestic, transnational, regional and global no longer have the heuristic value political scientists and activists made of them in an earlier period. In fact there is now an interpenetration of these various arenas. The fundamental realization is that the responsibility is worldwide and that the fate of all men is tied to finding appropriate human value resolutions.

3. In order to use the framework for world order effectively two additional points need to be made concerning the global problems and world order values. First we must find operational standards for what we consider to be the problem resolution in each area. Secondly and just as important, there must be a recognition which goes to a systematic methodology of the organic relationship which exists among the various problems. Let us look first at the operationalizing of standards for each of the areas.

An operational standard demands that one move beyond slogans and start to develop workable, action-oriented criteria. It is our contention that these matters are capable of being defined in more precise terms than has hitherto been the case. Begin for example, with the problem of violence. As an initial matter we must decide how to delineate the phenomena we shall decide to investigate. Thus the fact that some 150.000 people are killed and some six to seven million are injured on world highways annually, is a matter of world concern, but for reasons which remain at the moment commonsensical and intuitive, we would argue that it is not a world order concern, that is here our "naive realism" comes to the fore.

Put in another way, we would begin our delineation of the problem of violence with the rule which is already in existence now, that the threat of the use of force by one state against another is sufficient to invoke world community response. What we have in mind is that large scale violence of the classic form, i.e. when one governmental bureaucracy calls for a member of its military staff to cross a national boundary, it matters not whether one or one million casualties result, only that in such a situation the world community must respond.

Nevertheless, while focusing initially on the existing rule, and having excluded 150.000 automobile fatalities, we believe that "naive realism" in world order theory would lead most men of good will and common sense to the view that the world community should intervene in a large number of instances of violence which are ordinarily considered to be within the domestic jurisdiction. The doctrine of non-interference, when such doctrine leads to the carnage of somewhere between 200.000 and 600.000 people being savagely brutalized and murdered in Indonesia, Somaliland, Bangladesh, Burundi and Nigeria,raises the question if existing definitions and methods of dealing with large scale violence and war prevention are sensible, let alone morally acceptable, for the world community. Are there some conceptions of humanitarian intervention or modified peacekeeping or some other doctrine which the world community might utilize to prevent such horrors?

4. What do we mean by a concern with "economic welfare"? We would remind you of the data given at the beginning indicating the gap between the underdeveloped and developed areas of the world. Here we would ask the question: Is it possible to speak of really solving global problems with the existence of this projected gap, if we do not provide the bottom 10% of the world population with some minimal standard, let us say $ 300 - $ 400 per capita? Does this imply a maximal standard? Furthermore, answers to these questions of per capita income are only part of the operational standard for economic welfare. One must not only consider a redistribution of income, but also measures to insure access to work, education and medical care, etc. And perhaps more fundamental than that, is there some notion of economic welfare which is tied to the realization of each human being, and therefore melds into the notion of social justice?

5. Operationalizing "social justice" is perhaps the most difficult task. Many are asking for a universal writ of habeas corpus, or about the position of demands by women for equality, or liberalizing drug laws. While it seems extremely difficult to agree upon a total definition of social justice, one area does seem to have emerged very clearly for world community action.

With one notable exception in professed creed, i.e. South Africa, --and a relatively large number of lamentable notable exceptions in practice, and here the reader may make his own list of exceptions-- it is still nevertheless true that the entire world community has agreed that discrimination based on race is outrageous. Our hope would be that this outrage will mobilize large numbers of people and that by acting on such a clearly emerged criterion, other criteria of social justice will become generally acceptable over time.

6. Ecological balance connotes varying images to various people. Again we would refer to the data used in connection with U Thant's statement. Here we would only add that operational standards, unlike social justice, are easily measurable. That does not mean that the ecological system does not involve a very complex set of interrelated problems, but it does mean that more or less objective standards are capable of being realized.

7. The reader should recall that our second aim is to instill our analysis of peace and justice with a thorough understanding of the organic relationship between the four problem areas. This discussion will bypass the cause/effect relationship between war and underlying conditions of society, although we recognize the validity of such a debate. Rather, our approach contends that in order to think of one problem area, one must immediately talk about all the others. Operationally, this means that for example at the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm in the summer of 1972, it was eminently sensible that talk about pollution and resource depletion was related to discussion of disarmament and development. Or, when discussions are held about not crossing national boundaries as a method of delimiting violence, the subject of white minorities must also be included. Put in another way, it is necessary to determine the kind of violence which can be sanctioned in order to reverse the structural violence within the unacceptable racist system of South Africa. One standard results from considering that black life expectancy is 45-50 years, and that of their white counterparts is 70 years. How much legitimate violence under what groups and under what authority can be used to topple that white regime in order to narrow the gap between these statistics? While life expectancy is a number and therefore easy to deal with, similar questions must be asked in relationship to access to education or the general quality of black life. Any program or analysis of peace and justice must come to grips then with the interrelationship between the four values.

8. Our commentary now turns to those actors participating in the solution of the interrelated problems of war, poverty, social injustice and ecocide. Two points are necessary to make. First, it is necessary to emphasize the range of actors. Much discussion of the problems of peace and justice still uses the terminology appropriate to international law, which as we noted above seems increasingly irrelevant due to underlying political processes. Second, by focusing on all actors which exist between the individual and world institutions, we attempt to remain flexible and utilize the full range of actors. Thus, when a nation-state can accomplish a necessary portion of a strategy for peace and justice, why not utilize it? At other times, when trans-

national or world community inputs are more appropriate in problem solving, the nation-state system should be de-emphasized. Furthermore it is our own conviction that transnational groupings will become increasingly important and provide a solid basis for system transforming processes which will help resolve global problems. Our own view here is that the scientific, business, communication, artistic and church communities are likely to be the movers in transnational groupings demanding major basic change in the global political system.

9. A brief word needs to be said about the substantive dimensions which have been identified, and which we would hope that behavioral scientists and political activists would work with. These substantive dimensions again, are neither novel nor particularly insightful. In fact it is their very lack of novelty, and their commonplaceness which make them sensible for us to include in the Matrix. That is to say, it provides us with a sense of common agenda on which we should all be working over the next few decades.

10. The meaning of relevant utopia leads to an important methodological point. Most simply, it is a concrete description of what a particular world would look like at some future time, and a trend analysis in similarly concrete terms of how that particular system would be realized. To make the point even more starkly, no utopia is irrelevant because it appears to be politically impossible. Any utopia is relevant which describes in specific behavior the process by which world political system could be brought into being.

Our reason for insisting on reviewing the range of relevant utopias stems from the fact that despite the consensus on global problems, there are no universal standards either for the world we wish to achieve, or the method of getting there. It is then of crucial significance that as many individuals throughout the world as possible become involved in describing a desired world and the steps to get there, for this will undoubtedly be one of the great learning mechanisms for transforming the system. Furthermore, we--unlike the behavioral scientist interested primarily in concretization and prediction--want to be influenced by all possible views so that the final universal decisional standards will be more generally acceptable.

Reviewing the range of relevant utopias is not sufficient however, since too many past academic analysts have presented trends and facts without stating a policy preference and defending it. The component of a preferred world necessitates a value judgment by selecting from the total range of utopias and making a commitment to the operationalization of the preferred one.

11. A few words about the role of law in facilitating peace and justice, or world order, as we have come to call it, seem appropriate. It is now evident that radicalism,

whether reactionary or progressive, will continue to be important in both domestic and international politics. What has not yet been made clear is that the development of world authority --world law--is in fact a radical notion. We are so accustomed to thinking of radicalism in terms of revolution against authority that we have failed to realize that the demand for world authority is itself radical. Our own speculations lead us to believe that the problems of the '70's and '80's--war, population, hunger, race relations, pollution of the environment, urban sprawl, and the new set of problems arising from automation, interplanetary explorations, microbiology and eugenics, to mention but a few of the more salient possibilities, are so fraught with the potential for large-scale social disorganization, that it may very well be precisely those individuals who have in the past been attracted to radicalism and revolution who will be the ones to demand of their government a more rational world system than the present one.

Put in another way, it might be argued that law is almost a universal experience, and can be appealed to as a rational method for achieving peace and justice. To be sure, law has sometimes operated both oppressively and ineffectively, and these are good reasons for many people to be suspicious of and hostile to solutions based on legal institutions. These are however not objections to law itself, but to its substantive content or a particular form of its application. Aside from a very few philosophical anarchists, most reasonable people, and this includes revolutionaries and victims of oppression, envision a world in which proper law is used to control violence, resolve conflicts, redress harms, and promote social justice. In short, law as a method and goal for a world peace and justice movement, makes sense to the people of the world.

12. We have left until last a discussion of transition, admittedly the most difficult and therefore in some ways the weakest aspect of peace and justice analyses. We are specifically asking: Now that the four problems have been identified as important, what can each of us as individuals or organized as groups, do about remedies in order to realize world order values? This is the transition question.

Soviet Academician Andrei Sakharov has recently described one of the transition strategies he would recommend for a preferred world order:

> "In the opinion of the author, it is necessary to have a tax on the developed countries equal to 20 per cent of the national income for the next fifteen years. The introduction of such a tax would automatically lead to a significant decrease in expenditures for weapons. Such joint aid would considerably help to stabilize and improve the position of most underdeveloped countries; it would limit the influence of extremists of all

> types......Mankind can develop painlessly only by viewing itself in the demographic sense as a unit, as one family without divisions into nations, except from the point of view of history and traditions." 1)

Whether Sakharov has developed a desirable and feasible strategy is debatable. What is unquestionable and most important to notice is that a man of his standing and intelligence has begun to propose the kind of sweeping transition steps that must be increasingly demanded of leaders everywhere.

For us the transition problem is easily tied to the idea of mobilizing more and more people to focus on the interrelated problems of a more peaceful and just planet. One might argue that the 1970's will provide a decade during which there will be sufficient consensus abouth these problems so that a transition strategy can be worked out.

In discussing transition one should face up to the question of whether or not it is sensible to move in small steps or in giant steps. There are a number of ways to approach this problem. First it should be noted that the way has already begun to be prepared for taking big steps. The fact is that the process of global community has actually been taking place at a rapidly accelerating pace since the late 19th century, and especially over the past decade. In many ways it is unthinkable to believe that there is anyone on the planet Earth who does not believe emotionally that he is part of one world. Thus it is that "big steps" may be viewed as quite so big as they might have been just a decade ago.

Secondly, it should be pointed out that apart from their slowness in achieving the degree of change needed, small steps for change in the international system lack visibility and as a rule generate little enthusiasm among broad populations. A series of big steps--such as the creation of a supranational world police force capable of enforcing racial equality in southern Africa, or the creation of an ocean regime empowered to tax developers of ocean resources for the betterment of the poor states, or the creation of an environmental agency empowered to bring enforceable legal action against criminal ecological offenders--is now necessary. These would be highly visible political actions whose effects could readily be communicated to large numbers of people as holding forth the promise for rapid and positive changes in the quality of their lives.

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1) Quoted from Economics and World Order: From the 1970's to the 1990's, Ed. Jagdish N. Bhagwati, The MacMillan Company, New York, N.Y., 1972.

Conclusion

We have argued that the world order Matrix is a most appropriate frame of reference for any person who wishes to analyse or work for peace and social justice. This article begins with a declaration from former Secretary-General U Thant, who seconds our contention. With this in mind, one must carefully examine the quotation from the President of the United States. Two questions arise from his statement. The first is: Does the President conceive of these problems as global problems, either from the viewpoint of survival or the quality of life? The second question is: Even if he does, would the image of the world which he projects furnish us with guidelines which could provide solutions or by which we are willing to abide?

For the authors, the answer to both these questions is "No". Quite frankly, and again without going into the benefit of full argument, our view is that President Nixon and the elites of other major superpowers, seem to be concerned with these four problems only insofar as they may cause unpleasantness, friction or even the threat of force between the five major powers. Whatever their intellectual awareness of these problems, the elites of these powers seem not to have integrated them emotionally or ethically. For the moment at least, a five power balance of power world, which conceives a Vietnam as likely to be merely a footnote of history, is so devoid of a vision of a global community with compassion, that, even if it were to work--and we have strong doubts that it would--we would personally not want to become part of it, and we know that there are hundreds of millions of people throughout the world who share that feeling.

We wish to make clear that in our view, imagining alternative futures, proposing transition strategies consonant with realizing world order values, are not tasks to be relegated to the distant future. We know that national leaders, encapsulated by visions of the 18th and 19th centuries, are in the process of attempting to implement their own visions of world order, in which the balance of power is more significant than the realization of world order values. If a more peaceful and just world is to become a reality, the input of hundreds of thousands, if not millions of human beings, and their humane visions of world order, must replace those presently being acted upon by these anachronistic decision-makers.

MICHAEL BANKS (Great Britain)

A CRITICAL APPRAISAL OF RESEARCH AND TEACHING ON PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION x)

Of the many topics which may be discussed under the above very broad heading, two have been selected for elaboration in this brief introductory statement. They are, first, the problem of scope or content of the field. We need to attempt to build a consensus about just what problems we are seeking to understand when we describe ourselves as "peace researchers". And secondly, there is the problem of objectives. We need to be quite clear about what it is that marks down a man as a full-fledged peace-researcher. Is he just another social scientist, a man who happens to have "majored" in conflict analysis but who might just as well have studied accountancy or law or environmental planning? Or is he like the doctor or soldier, a man whose selection for a particular vocational training included a check of his attitudes and values as well as of his abilities and his health, and who must pass some specialized ritual or take a loyalty oath before he is allowed to apply what he has learned?

Defining the Field

In Britain at least, there is real confusion on both the topics mentioned. In different universities there are now a number of courses which deal with defence policy, strategic studies, classical international relations studies, conflict analysis, general social theory and many others of a similar broad type. Some of these might qualify (regardless of their titles) as peace and conflict theory, others not. Much narrower courses also exist, some with titles as specific as 'the causes of war' or 'the consequences of revolution'. Yet there exists no consensus as yet on whether peace and conflict theory is, or should be, a field to be recognized as one capable of standing alongside psychology or political science.

And a one-day conference of some thirty teachers from a variety of British universities, held in the spring of 1971, was not able to identify any institutional means for clarifying the situation. The universities are independent;

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x) Paper prepared for the UNESCO Advisory Meeting of Experts on Research and Teaching on Problems of Peace and Conflict Resolution. Manila, Philippines, 29 November - 3 December 1971.

they can only be encouraged, not coerced, and they tend to move slowly. The existence, activities and encouragement of bodies like IPRA, UNESCO and the Conflict Research Society of Great Britain can help in pushing academic departments gently towards the adoption of new courses, but that is all. In this as in many other fields, what may well be crucial is the supply of deeds rather than words. If an aspiring teacher of a peace research course at a British university is to succeed in his proposals to the faculty board or other authoritative academic body for a new programme or even a whole new degree, he needs a vastly impressive bibliography as ammunition. Slogans will not do. We must have more books, better books, and books which are specialized within the field so that methodology, values, findings, philosophy and other aspects of the subject are each clearly distinguished, and expounded by reference to separate groups of scholarly works.

The lack of identity of the peace and conflict research field raises problems of particular severity in the matter of academic appointments. The awareness that scholarly tradition, not god or nature, divides up reality into things called 'subjects' is by no means new. But only those who suffer the consequences of this can appreciate what it means to be an economist trying to master and then to gain acceptance for a conflict analysis course, or a social psychologist trying to persuade a group of established political scientists to take seriously the idea that psychology and politics can meet in a new, productive field of inquiry.

These problems apart, the experience of ten years of the peace research movement does now make it possible to draw a conceptual map of the field. Such a map is set out below. The agreed core of theory which is used in the procedure of conflict analysis is very small, yet the members of the peace research movement do seem to feel that theirs is a distinct field.

"Conflict analysis" cannot in practice be discussed at all seriously without coming up against the problems of biased perception, the social position of the researcher, and the moral consequences of intervention in conflict situations. Self-conscious awareness of these problem areas is a characteristic of members of the peace research movement. Since it was the activity of that movement that produced the 'conflict analysis' field, I propose to set the boundaries of the topical discussion relevant to conflict analysis by asking 'what do peace researchers do'? Peace research, therefore, is the wide field, and conflict theory is a topic within it.

Defining Peace Research

There seem to be two ways of deciding what our field is: the exclusive, and the inclusive. The exclusive approach consists of setting out some principles about peace research (defined as a set of problems); about the discipline which we apply to it (defined as a set of theories and methods); and perhaps also something about ourselves viewed sociologically as a particular group of researchers. I submit that we all do make assumptions of this kind about our work and ourselves, though we are intuitive rather than systematic about it. We know what peace research is though it is not easy to be precise.
The kinds of principles I suggest we apply are:

a) In terms of focus, peace research is mainly concerned with processes of conflict, violence, oppression and peaceful relationships at all social levels. This implies that we exclude, by the criterion of relevance, work not seemingly connected with these phenomena.

b) in terms of values, peace research is humanistic, progressive, on the side of the underdog, and therefore ultimately political. It takes a stand, and it rejects what it regards as immoral or irresponsible uses of the power of social sciences.

c) in terms of methodology, peace research is systematic, as scientific as may be, aiming at objective and replicable scholarship. Values come into the picture initially, in the choice of research topic, and finally, in the evaluation and use of findings; they are not supposed to affect the analytic work in between these stages.

d) in terms of scholarly perspective or intellectual doctrine, peace research is interdisciplinary, which is perhaps another way of saying it is (or wants to become) a new field. It rejects the established academic subject/department boundaries and their analytic/doctrinal consequences, for example that of the subject international relations within which it is widely held that the international political system is a unique system and consequently not susceptible of explanation by reference to behaviour at any other systems level. Instead, peace research espouses doctrines like that of the relevance of general system theory, and aims ultimately at the construction of an integrated social science.

For our purpose I suggest that this exclusive kind of definitional approach should be rejected. It might be convenient in principle to have available some propositions which tell us what work is not peace research, but the ones set out above are not nearly sharp enough to do this, and I do not know of better ones. In any case it is invidious to engage in the implied criticisms of the work of others which seem to occur once such boundaries start to be drawn. For some purposes, e.g. the fashionable one of drawing up lists of institutes, scholars, and work in progress "in peace research", it may be necessary. But it also is usually quite unsatisfactory as we all know from reading the IPRA newsletter. However, we cannot neglect these principles altogether.

The inclusive approach seems rather more helpful for our purposes here. Using this approach, one simply compiles a schedule of things actually done by those who call themselves conflict theorists or peace researchers. That is basically what is set out below. In addition, I have taken the problem one stage further, by arranging the topics in an order which (to me) makes sense of them. In Section A, I suggest some of the issues which have attracted the attention of peace researchers and drawn them into this field. Section B is, I suggest, the minimum of basic definition, theories and findings which we may all agree upon as constituting what we have to offer the world at this point in our disciplinary history. Section C is the forthcoming agenda: fields of inquiry which we must tackle if the peace research movement is to fulfil its objective (?) of helping to make the world a better place.

A. The Problem Area

1. Overt or direct violence, otherwise known as a dysfunctional form of conflict.

2. Structural violence, long known under superficial titles like 'oppression' but only recently defined within peace research as the more subtle and more important form of violence.

3. The organisation of world society; defined as a system with three prime components:

    - the globe and its resources, providing an environment

    - mankind as a group, needing to be viewed in terms of systems analysis, e.g. are nation-states sufficiently functional sub-systems

- the individual human being - important as the source of values for the peace researcher.

B. Conflict Theory: Definitions, Theories, Findings

1. Definitions and Properties of Conflict

- the Galtung triangle: interests/values, attitudes behaviour
- distinction from competition
- the debate over subjectivity versus objectivity
- symmetric versus asymmetric forms
- definition of parties
- identification of issues
- dimensions of conflict and its complexity
- similarity of conflict at all social levels

2. The Social Context of Conflict

- functionality and dysfunctionality
- relationship of conflict to processes of change
- relationship to institutions, law, organisations

3. The Origins, Causes, Sources of Conflict and Its Incidence

- psychological approach: aggression theory and frustration
- biological/ethological approaches: crowding, innate instincts, etc.
- sociological approaches: rank disequilibrium theory
- strategic approaches: rational competition and the use of force and bargaining
- systems approaches: conflict theory as random disturbance, chaos, human error, faulty design and operation of structures and processes, failed communications, etc.

4. Conflict Dynamics

   - psychological approaches
     mirror images, false perception, polarisation, etc.
   - strategic approaches
     bargaining theory, Richardson processes
   - crisis studies
     multidisciplinary; the special case within dynamics theory
   - escalation and spillover between systems levels

5. Conflict Termination

   - basic distinctions: settlement, resolution, transformation, perpetuation
   - authoritative peacekeeping
   - mediation and other forms of constructive intervention
   - distinct processes applicable to symmetric vs. asymmetric conflicts

6. Peace Theory

   - the values and roles of the conflict researcher/consultant
   - the stages of transformation of asymmetric conflict:
     ignorance to awareness, awareness to confrontation, confrontation to resolution; development
   - types of peace thinking
   - epistemology: intellectual, practical, political status of theories and findings of the peace researcher
   - problems of application of peace and conflict theory

C. The Forthcoming Agenda

1. Forecasting: methodology, applications
2. Planning and forms of social control which are consistent with basic values, e.g. concern within peace research now with problem of nonviolent revolution.

3. The promotion of human rights and institutionalised means of peaceful social change.

4. The establishment of a peace profession, i.e. a discipline whose members specialize both in 'pure' conflict theory and research and in 'applied' research, action and training:
   e.g. social work and development:
   experts in peaceful change education,
   especially its 'political' forms;
   peacemaking: military peacekeepers,
   mediators, conflict consultants.

5. The legitimization of a peace profession, by acting to produce social acceptance of peace researchers as experts.

In conclusion, it is important to return to the concept of "objectives" and to consider the question of what we hope to achieve by offering programmes of study, and of research, and of the even more purposive activity known as 'training' in peace and conflict. Clearly, we hope to produce people who have understanding, in much the same way that any other student of any other subject will have some understanding of the subject-matter of that subject. But is there something more? In one organization where much thought and effort has been devoted to this problem, the International Peace Academy, it has emerged that there are skills which need to be identified as the objectives of a peace research training. The primary skill is that of analysis or diagnosis of social situation. Understanding, here, is linked to the ability to formulate the understanding in such a way that it implies a course of action, much as a medical understanding of a physical problem is stated purposively, not just as analysis but as diagnosis; the explanation itself implies one or more courses of action.

Beyond this, it becomes very difficult indeed to talk of peace-related skills. Peace, after all, is an open-ended concept - the set of social conditions which permits the full self-development of individual human beings. Skills which are needed in order to promote this objective range very widely, from those connected with the short-term activities of easing and remedying the worst excesses of present unpeaceful conditions, to the more utopian skills connected with the construction of alternative future social orders. There are profound problems hidden beneath these brave ideas: problems of political sensitivity. The simplest of these problems is that of peace research as politics. In any conflict, the peacemaker who comes into the situation as a mediator, conciliator or policeman, may by his actions help the cause of one party and injure the interests of another party. At a deeper level, the peace researcher who concerns himself in a philosophical way with grand conceptions of a future world order may run into even greater moral and intellectual problems. Most definitions of "peace" involve some kind of abolition or exclusion of what we now call the political process, with its characteristics of compromise and bargaining and coercion. The implication is that to get rid of high politics and unsavoury statecraft, we need to break down our great political units and our giant organizations into smaller, more human and less political groupings. Peace research in this long-run sense merges with religion, with revolution (peaceful, of course) and with philosophy. But are these skills that peace research could sensibly claim to convey?

ALI A. MAZRUI (Uganda)

BLACK NATIONALISM, MAHATMA GANDHI AND PACIFIC SOCIALIZATION

The African team of the World Order Models Project has arrived at the conclusion that world order needs a world culture as its foundation. After all, world order requires a wide degree of consensus on a wide range of values. Consensus on such matters is obtained either through fear or through a shared culture.

Basing a new world order merely on fear would not only make that order more fragile and possibly transient; it would also distort the quality of human life. Even the fear of world destruction as the sole basis of a new world order could not be sustained without some psychological cost to man.

Shared culture has then emerged as the only effective alternative to shared fear. Culture thus becomes an infrastructure for consensus. After all, in order to get viable consensus on three fundamental issues, human beings often also need to be in agreement on at least twenty-one other issues. Consensus on fundamentals needs the foundation of a shared outlook on a number of other issues as well. Consensus in a void is a contradiction in terms, unless it is exacted by brute force.

A shared culture has already emerged on a world scale. International law itself is a piece of world culture. Starting as a system of rules to govern relations between European states, international law has since been virtually globalized as a diplomatic code. We might therefore place international law alongside such phenomena as the Bible, computer technology, the plays of William Shakespeare, the symphonies of Ludwig van Beethoven, the modern school, and Scotch whiskey - as elements which have entered the mainstream of world culture.

But the trouble with world culture as it has so far evolved is that it is disproportionately Western-derived. International law itself still bears the marks of its ancestry as a system of values which sprang from European civilizization. In literature there is a disproportionate Western presence in the shared global pool. Western classics are read throughout the world - but Eastern and African classics tend to be limited to their own regions. No Eastern or African author can even hope to be a world literary figure unless he makes a particularly strong impact on the West. But a Western writer can shoot into world fame before a single Indian, Chinese or African reader has seen any of his works.

Even the world prizes for excellence are Western-based and Western-awarded. The Nobel Prize winner from the Non-Western world is, by definition, someone who has first had to convince a collection of northern Europeans of the merit of his work.

But among the leaders of thought from the non-Western world that have now entered world culture Mahatma Gandhi must of course be included. It is arguable that even he had to have a constituency in the Western world before he could attain adequate global stature. He had to appeal to the Christian sensibilities of the West to some extent before he could become universally conspicuous.

But although his impact on the West was an important pre-condition for his emergence as a world figure, Gandhi nevertheless has an enormous local constituency, the Indian sub-continent. Through this, and through the distinctiveness of Satyagraha (soul force) as a technique of protest, he captured the imagination of a significantly large segment of the human race to be able to enter the mainstream of world culture.

This paper proposes to look at Gandhi's impact on black nationalism, and to assess that impact in terms of the process of _pacific socialization_. Of course the term pacific has associations both with a major arena of ocean welfare, on one side, and a simple English word meaning "peaceable and unwarlike", on the other. Perhaps the _double entendre_ is appropriate, implying the continuing tension between peace-ability and war in human affairs, as well a tension between words and realities. By pacific socialization we therefore mean a system of transmitting values which are oriented towards minimizing violence and enhancing a preference for peace. To that extent, pacific socialization is a special kind or special aspect of political socialization.

In tracing the impacts of Gandhism on black nationalistic perspectives, we also hope to draw out the sociological constraints which define the limits of effectiveness for pacific socialization. The constraints should introduce a note of humility in our assessment concerning the boundaries of peace education at large.

Gandhi in Black History

India was the first non-white British dependency to emerge from colonial rule. This fact alone was bound to influence anti-colonial movements elsewhere in the Empire. One area which felt the impact of the Indian example was West Africa.

"Inspired by the example of the Indian Congress Party ... a few educated Africans in the British West African territories organized the National Congress of British West Africa", James S. Coleman reminded us 1). The West African Congress was established in 192o, following a conference at Accra which was called by Caseley Hayford, the distinguished Gold Coast barrister and a founding father of Ghanaian nationalism.

For a while the most admired aspect of the Indian National Movement was its apparent success in unifying diverse groups. In that same year of 1920 the Lagos Weekly Record, a pioneer nationalist paper in Nigeria, had the following observations to make:

> "West Africans have discovered today what the Indians ... discovered thirty-five years ago, that placed as they were under the controlling influence of the foreign power, it was essential to their well being that they should make a common cause and develop national unity ... We hope the day will soon come when ... Hausas, Yorubas, and Ibos will make a common stand and work hand in hand for their common fatherland." 2)

Sixteen years later the most admired feature of the Indian National Movement was still its apparent unity. Chief H.O. Davies of Nigeria affirmed in 1936:

> "Africans should follow India - the only way is for Africans to cooperate and make sacrifices in the struggle for freedom." 3)

But the emergence of the Muslim League in India as a serious secessionist movement soon shattered the myth of unity in the Indian model. A new word entered the vocabulary of West African nationalism - the word was Pakistanism. The fear of such a bid for secession became more pronounced in Africa as the Muslim League in India approached its goal. In 1947 Obafemi Awolowo, the leader of Nigerian nationalism in the Western region, and still a major figure in Nigerian politics, made the following observations:

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1) J.S. Coleman, Nigeria: Background to Nationalism (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press), 1958, p. 191

2) See: Lagos Weekly Record, April 20, 1920

3) Cited by Coleman op.cit., p. 203

> "With regard to the effect of religious differences on political unity, India is an outstanding example. Her experience is well worth bearing in mind in tackling the Constitutional problems of Nigeria." 4)

More than ten years later Nigeria was still worried about the danger of secessionism based on religion. Independence was only two years away, as it turned out. But Namdi Azikiwe, the father of modern Nigerian nationalism and later first President of the Republic of Nigeria, was *all too conscious of the risks of dissension. He said:*

> "It is essential that it will be not created in order to encourage a Pakistan in this country. The North and the South are one, whether we wish it or not. The forces of history have made it so. We have a common destiny ..." 5)

Azikiwe was an Ibo and a Christian. The tragedy of Nigeria had yet to be explored in all its devastation. The Nigerian Civil War was in effect basically ethnic rather than religious, but the Biafran propaganda machine was very effective in exploiting the Christian sensibilities of the Western world, and portraying the war in a manner reminiscent of the tactics of the Muslim League in British India.

But well before the Nigerian tragedy, the experience of the Indian sub-continent had indeed ceased to be the model of national unity for which it had been admired in the 1920's. On the contrary, the Indian sub-continent became a lesson to Africa on the dangers of dissension. Nigeria, because of its rough division between a Muslim North and a Christian South, was particularly haunted by the danger of partition - and that later tragedy which engulfed the country made those forebodings all the more poignant. But Nigeria was not the only African country that had drawn this kind of lesson from India's experience. The Convention Peoples' Party of the Gold Coast included in its 1954 Election Manifesto the following battle cry:

> "We have seen the tragedy of religious communalism in India and elsewhere. Don't let us give it a chance to take root and flourish in Ghana. Down

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4) O. Awolowo: Path to Nigerian Freedom (London: Faber and Faber, 1947) pp. 50-53

5) N. Azikiwe: Zik: A selection from the speeches of Namdi Azikiwe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961) p. 102

with Pakistanism!"6)

What was growing was a deep sensitivity to the great link between violence and primordial identity. The hazards of a pluralistic society had already been dramatically illustrated by the Indian experience. The incredible slaughter of Indians by Indians upon the partition of the sub-continent deeply affected many politically conscious Africans in the colonies at that moment in time.

Much later there was to be a second partition of the Indian continent - the breakup of Pakistan and the emergence of Bangla Desh. While the first partition which created Pakistan was a triumph of religion, in a curious manner the second partition which created Bangla Desh was a failure of religion. In 1947 religion emerged as a potentially viable foundation for nationality, and Mohammed Ali Jinah became the founding father of the new Islamic state. But by 1972 the Indian sub-continent was experiencing an alliance between a Hindu woman, Indira Gandhi, and a Bengali Muslim nationalist, Mujibur Rahman. Both the triumph of religion in British India in 1947, and the collapse of religion in 1972, were accompanied by carnage and horrifying violence.

It is against this background that the legacy of Mahatma Gandhi assumes its pertinence both for the Indian sub-continent itself and for the status of India as a potential model for the Third World. Certainly British India's loss of stature upon losing the unity of her nationalist movement meant by no means the end of India's potentiality as a model in other ways, nor of India's influence on the positive aspirations of Third World nationalists elsewhere. The Indian model in the 1930's had already been acquiring other qualities which came to compel admiration at the same time as it was losing its old quality of national cohesion. Pre-eminent among those new qualities were those which were brought out and sharpened by Gandhi's movement of passive resistance.

Quite early in his life Gandhi himself saw non-violence as a method which could be well suited for the black man as well as the Indian. He regarded the method as promising for both black Americans and Africans. In 1924 Gandhi said that if the black people "caught the spirit of the Indian movement, their progress must be rapid." 7)

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6) The manifesto is partly reproduced in: The Political Awakening in Africa, edited by Rupert Emerson and Martin Kilson (Prentice Hall, 1965) pp. 110-117

7) See: Young India, August 21, 1924

By 1936 Gandhi was wondering whether the black people, as perhaps among the most oppressed of all peoples, might not be the best bearers of the banner of the passive resistance. To use Gandhi's own words:

> "It may be through the Negroes that the unadulterated message of non-violence will be delivered to the world." 8)

In the United States the Gandhian torch came to be passed to Martin Luther King - who kept on affirming Gandhian principles as reciprocal race violence caught up with the slow pace of ethnic liberalization in his country. King, a devout Christian, tells us how he once despaired of love as a solution to social problems. He had read Nietzsche and his idea of the Will of Power - and this shook his faith in mere love. Then one Sunday afternoon he travelled to Philadelphia to hear a sermon by Dr. Mordecai Johnson, President of Howard University. Dr. Johnson had just returned from a trip to India. In his address at Philadelphia he spoke on the life and teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. Martin Luther King was so moved that upon leaving the meeting he went to look for books on Gandhi's life and works.

Prior to reading Gandhi, King had been driven to the view that the Christian ethic could only cope with a crisis of relations between individuals. The "turn the other cheek" philosophy and the "love your enemies" precept were only valid when individuals were in conflict with other individuals.

> "Gandhi was probably the first person in history to lift the love ethic of Jesus above mere interaction between individuals to a powerful and effective social force on a large scale ... I came to feel that this was the only morally and practically sound method open to oppressed people in their struggle for freedom." 9)

In a sense, if Jesus was Marx, Gandhi was Lenin. Just as Lenin had operationalized in institutional and organizational terms the revolutionary ideas which Marx had thrown out to the world, so Gandhi had operationalized in organizational and collective terms the love ethic bequeathed by Jesus to situations of man's confrontation with man.

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8) Harijan, March 4, 1936

9) Martin Luther King: Stride Towards Freedom (New York: Ballantine Books. 1958) pp. 76-77

In Africa the Gandhian torch came to be passed to Kwame Nkrumah, the leader of Gold Coast nationalism at that time. In June 1949, Nkrumah launched the strategy of "Positive Action" as a form of harassing the British authorities to grant one concession after another to the Nationalist Movement. Some of his fellow Africans in the country were apprehensive about the implications of the strategy. In his autobiography Nkrumah tells us how he explained the strategy to a critical traditional local council.

> "I described Positive Action as the adoption of all legitimate and constitutional means by which we could attack the forces of imperialism in the country. The weapons were legitimate political agitation, newspaper and educational campaigns and, as a last resort, the constitutional application of strikes, boycotts and non-cooperation based on the principle of absolute non-violence, as used by Gandhi in India." 10)

With the launching of "Positive Action", Nkrumah earned the name not only of "Apostle of Freedom", but also of "Gandhi of Ghana". Years later Nkrumah was to say:

> "We salute Mahatma Gandhi and we remember, in tribute to him, that it was in South Africa that his method of non-violence and non-cooperation was first practised." 11)

But was it really a tribute to Gandhism to refer to a country where passive resistance had still not paid? Would it not have been more polite to be silent about South Africa as the first testing ground of Gandhian methods? Yet Nkrumah was not being sarcastic. He was genuinely saluting the Mahatma as the intellectual influence behind his own method of Positive Action. The truth of the matter is that it took African nationalism quite a while to realize that Gandhism was not always successful. At the 1958 All Africa Peoples' Conference in Accra one of the major debating points became the issue of whether violence was, or could be, a legitimate instrument of the African nationalist. The Algerians were then at war against the French for their own independence, and they put up a spirited case in defence of armed insurrection, supported by speakers from other Arab African states. But black Africa was still not yet convinced of the wisdom of armed insurrection, and certainly not convinced of the wisdom of public acclaim of such

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10) Kwame Nkrumah: Ghana, the Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1957) p. 92

11) Nkrumah: Positive Action in Africa, in: Africa Speaks, edited by J. Duffy and R.A. Manners (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand, 1961) p. 50

means from the conference in Accra.

Two years later Kenneth Kaunda in Central Africa was still almost fanatical in his attachment to Gandhism. In a discussion with Colin Morris published in 1960, Kaunda conceded that where people were denied access to a democratic system of government, there was a great temptation to resort to what he called "non-democratic means". He cited for illustration the experience of Cyprus and Malaya at the time. But Kaunda then went on to emphasize:

> "I could not lend myself to take part in any such campaigns. I reject absolutely violence in any of its forms as a solution to our problems." 12)

Although Kaunda is not basically a philosopher at all, he did place his attachment to non-violence in the context of a broader philosophical view of the world. Curiosly enough, Kaunda seemed to believe that there was something unnatural in being non-violent. He did not share the romanticism which saw man as being essentially peaceful. On the contrary, Kaunda felt that "man, just like any other animal, is violent." 13)

Yet the distinctive thing about man is that he could conquer certain aspects of his own nature. An alternative way of putting it is to argue that the nature of man includes the capacity to modify his own nature by cultivating certain aspects and partially repressing others. Morally, man was capable of moving upward to a higher nature.

> "First of all we must understand that non-violence is, as Mahatma Gandhi described it, a 'big experiment in man's development towards a higher realization of himself'. This is obviously a slow process as all recorded history shows. Man ... is violent. But he has so many finer qualities than other animals that we should entertain this Gandhi thought ..." 14)

The Sociology of Black Gandhism

Evidently significant processes of pacific socialization have been under way in the black world to produce such adherence to Gandhian techniques. It is one of the curious things of history that, outside India itself, the torch of Gandhism

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12) Kenneth Kaunda and Colin Morris: Black Government (Lusaka: Christian Literature, 1960)

13) See the journal: New Africa, Vol. 5, No. 1, January 1963, p. 14

14) Ibid.

came to be passed not to fellow Asians, but to black people in the new world and in Africa. It was not without significance that the first non-white winners of the Nobel Prize for Peace were Ralph Bunche, Chief Albert Luthuli and Martin Luther King. Martin Luther King later came also, upon his death, to be the first winner of the Nehru Prize for Peace.

The process of pacific socialization had in fact included Western Christianity at play in the black world. Kenneth Kaunda, Albert Luthuli, Martin Luther King were all products of a devout upbringing in Christian terms. Even Nkrumah had many of his earlier sensibilities fundamentally affected by the impact of Catholicism.

The success of Gandhism in Africa while it lasted was a measure both of the success and the failure of Christianity. In some ways Mahatma Gandhi became almost a political antidote to Jesus Christ. Just as Saint Augustine had once allied Christianity with the concept of Pax Romana, so Christianity later came to be linked to the whole vision of Pax Britannica. In Africa,Christianity came to be particularly associated with colonization. In one of his early speeches of the 1940's, Jomo Kenyatta is said to have compressed into a witticism a feeling of disaffection shared by many other nationalists:

> "The white men came and asked us to shut our eyes and pray. When we opened our eyes it was too late - our land was gone."

Much later Albert Luthuli, himself a devout Christian, came to feel keenly the handicap which his religion was experiencing in the age of nationalism in Africa. Luthuli lamented:

> "The average African says the white man is the cause of all his troubles. He does not discriminate between white men and see that some come here for material gain and others come with the message of God." 15)

It was in the context of this kind of reasoning that Mahatma Gandhi sometimes became a nationalistic antidote to Jesus Christ. The message of Jesus had been used to encourage submission from the natives. The message had not been presented as a call for 'non-violent resistance' but at best it called for 'non-violence'. Christianity could even be interpreted to mean 'non-resistance' - a coming to terms with those in authority, whoever they might be. 'My kingdom is not of this earth' - this declaration came to imply what E.H. Carr called "a boycott of politics".

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15) Quoted in: The New York Times, March 19, 1961

But Carr was wrong in bracketing Gandhism and Christianity together as "doctrines of non-resistance". What Gandhi offered to black nationalism was the element of resistance, added to the passivity of imperial Christianity. Carr was wrong in extending the description, "boycott of politics" to Gandhism as well as to Christianity. On the contrary, as Martin Luther King discovered, Gandhism was for the black man a politicization of christian doctrine. 16)

What we have had then in the black world is pacific socialization which was partly Christian derived, but which was also to some extent in rebellion against certain aspects of Christianity.

The South African origins of Gandhism continued to affect the destiny of the movement for a while. It was between 1906 and 1908 that a civil disobedience campaign was launched in South Africa under the leadership of Gandhi, directed against laws in the Transvaal which required Indians to carry registration certificates. The movement did have an impact on African opinion in South Africa. Leo Kuper reminded us of a series of Gandhian protest experiments in South Africa in those early years. African women in Bloemfontein used the technique of civil disobedience in 1913 in their protests against the extension of pass laws to them by municipalities in the Orange Free State. The women's movement spread to other towns, and continued for a few years. In 1919 the African National Congress started experimenting with these techniques in Johannesburg. The Communist Party in Durban in 1930 also went "Gandhian".

The Indians in South Africa resisted in 1946 in a similar way in protest against the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act. Meanwhile the struggle in India itself was helping to give Gandhian tactics global visibility and capturing the imagination of politically conscious blacks in South Africa, as well as elsewhere. Then came the South African Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws of 1952, again using Gandhian techniques of civil disobedience. But in the very wake of such tactics, the system in South Africa was closing up and getting more intolerant.

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16) See E.H. Carr: The Twenty Years' Crisis (Macmillan Company, 1939). Consult also Mazrui: Towards a Pax Africana (Weidenfeld and Nicholson and the University of Chicago Press, 1967) Chapter XII, and Mazrui: The Anglo African Commonwealth (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1967) Chapter I. I have borrowed from my earlier works and attempted to elaborate and clarify further some of those early propositions.

The Gandhian resistance in South Africa in the early 1950's was an alliance between blacks and Indians in the Union. It was in July 1951 that the African and Indian Congresses and the Franchise Action Council of the Coloureds appointed a Joint Planning Council. The aim was to co-ordinate the efforts of Africans, Indians, and coloured peoples in a mass campaign for the repeal of the pass laws, the Group Areas Act on racial segregation, the Separate Representation of Voters Act which was moving in the direction of further curtailment of the political rights of Coloureds, and the Bantu Authorities Act seeking to ensure a re-tribalization of Africans. The campaign was successful in terms of the degree of involvement of the three groups, but a failure in terms of its aims. The failure was even more significant as an indicator of the limits of Gandhism, and the implications of this for pacific socialization in Africa at large. 17)

Meanwhile strategies of resistance to racial domination in South Africa were regionalist rather than purely national. In September 1958 a movement called the Pan African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa (PAFMECA) had come into being further north. The aim of the organization was to co-ordinate nationalistic movements mainly in British East and Central Africa and ensure periodic consultations on strategy and methods of agitation for self-government. At that time nationalism in British Africa was still significantly under the influence of Gandhism.

In the meantime, black nationalists in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia were becoming disenchanted with the principle of non-violence. Such militant nationalist movements from further south became more directly affiliated to the nationalist movements elsewhere in Central and in East Africa when PAFMECA finally became PAFMECSA - the Pan African Freedom Movement of East, Central, and Southern Africa. This was a major change. Before long neomilitaristic liberation movements from further south assumed greater influence within the organization. In the words of Richard Cox:

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17) For a fuller discussion of civil disobedience in South Africa in the first half of this century consult Leo Kuper: Passive Resistance in South Africa (New Haven, 1957) and Kuper's more recent essay "Non-violence Revisited", published in: Protest and Power in Black Africa, edited by Robert I. Rotberg and Ali A. Mazrui (New York: Oxford University Press 1970), pp. 788-804

> "The Liberation Movements in addition to swelling PAFMECSA, changed its policy fundamentally. The use of violence was a recurrent theme ... Nelson Mandela ... of South Africa made an unexpected appearance and, to great applause, spoke of sabotage, of people turning their faces from the paths of peace and non-violence." 18)

Nor was Mandela among the extremists, although he was later to be imprisoned in South Africa after a grand trial alleging treason and sabotage. There were other voices from the southern part of the continent which were even more militant. But at least as significant was the report that Kenneth Kaunda, later to become President of Zambia, was the only delegate at that conference who did not applaud the new mood of violent militancy.

Something was happening in black Africa - partly under the influence of the very country where Gandhi had first practised passive resistance. South Africa was the cradle of African Gandhism - was it also going to be the grave of African Gandhism?

The Limits of Gandhism

As a strategy of agitation, Gandhi's Satyagraha depended on three clusters of factors for its success. It depended, firstly, on the qualities of the agitator himself; secondly, on the qualities of the regime at whom the agitation was directed; and thirdly, on the nature of the cause behind the whole crusade.

In 1963 Kenya's Tom Mboya - who had been Chairman of the Accra Conference five years previously where non-violence had been debated so acutely by Africans - made a remark which echoed much of the general African disenchantment with Gandhian techniques. Mboya observed in his autobiography:

> "Even those African leaders who accept Gandhi's philosophy find there are limitations to its use in Africa." 19)

What limitations? Again some of the limitations may lie in the African himself; some may lie in the regime that the African is struggling against; and some may lie in the changing purposes and ends of the agitation.

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18) Richard Cox: Pan Africanism in Practice, PAFMECSA 1958 to 1964 (London: Oxford University Press, 1964) p. 54

19) Mboya: Freedom and After (London: Andre Deutsch, 1963) pp. 50-52

Within these clusters of factors lie the boundaries of effective pacific socialization. Socialization in the direction of a preference for peaceful methods of resistance may itself hinge on a variety of other pre-conditions. One important pre-condition concerns the general political culture of the groups in question.

Did the African share those aspects of India's political culture which had made Gandhism such a success in India? Such a question was raised to Nkrumah soon after he threatened Positive Action in the Gold Coast a few years after the end of World War II. Nkrumah was summoned before the Colonial Secretary of the Gold Coast, Mr. R.H. Saloway. According to Nkrumah, Mr. Saloway warned him in the following terms:

> "But don't you see that this Positive Action that you are planning will bring chaos and ultimate disorder into the country? ... now India was a very different matter. The Indian was used to suffering pains and deprivations, but the African has not that spirit of endurance." 20)

If this was a claim that the African was more prone to violence than the Indian, the claim is dubious. In the history of decolonialization there have been few slaughters more appalling than the carnage between Hindus and Muslims when the sub-continent was partitioned. We have also had the remarkable experience of the agony of Bangla Desh, again involving people of Indian extraction. And the history of India herself since independence has been characterized by recurrent outbursts of linguistic, religious, and other forms of riots.

On the other hand, Positive Action in Ghana was by no means the chaotic failure that Saloway thought it would be. Strategic strikes and demonstrations were managed with effect. Nkrumah had been haunted by the fear that Saloway might be vindicated. As Nkrumah put it, "Mr. Saloway's words hammered in my brain in mockery -'Now, had this been India'! ..."But Positive Action in the Gold Coast contributed its share to the country's progress towards self-government. And the failure of civil disobedience in South Africa was due less to the violent propensities of the African than to the extreme repressiveness of the regime.

Yet, on least one major point, Saloway was right. It was true that the Indian was used to certain forms of suffering and deprivation the like of which was virtually unknown to most Africans. For one thing, poverty in India can

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20) Nkrumah: Ghana: Autobiography, op.cit., p. 96

become more severe than it hardly ever becomes in Africa. But from the point of view of pacific socialization, an even more important consideration is that Hinduism sometimes makes a virtue of suffering and hardship. As E.W.F. Tomlin put it in a somewhat dramatic form:

> "If a half-naked or wholly naked Hindu ... (deliberately) starves himself to within an ace of death or nearly buries himself alive - or actually does so - we tend to dismiss these acts as mere wanton aberrations, the product of ascetic high spirits. Such a judgement is superficial. ... The Yogi is simply a man who takes the Hindu philosophy to its logical conclusion." 21)

This Hindu philosophy was probably an important contributory factor to pacific socialization as an aspect of Hindu political culture. And this in turn was a fact behind the success of Gandhi himself in Indian politics and the viability of Gandhism in Indian political conditions for a while. Gandhi became acceptable as a spiritual leader because the society valued the qualities of asceticism and self-discipline which he exemplified. And Gandhism worked in India both because Gandhi himself had become a spiritual hero and because the qualities of martyrdom and physical endurance which he demanded for passive resistance were far from alien to the Hindu temperament.

This is in contrast to the political culture of most African societies. As I have had occasion to say elsewhere, Africa has no ascetic tradition of the Hindu kind. The idea of lying across a railway line as a form of passive resistance would fire few imaginations on the African continent. As for the idea of "fasting unto death", this became almost uniquely Indian. There are indeed instances where the spirit of non-violent resistance needs a certain suicidal resignation to work effectively. This temperament of "suicidal resignation", complete with a philosophical tradition behind it, is more evident in India than in Africa. As an aspect of the political culture of the country, Indian asceticism has been profoundly relevant in the whole process of pacific socialization in that country.

Sometimes the qualities needed in the agitator for the success of such techniques of resistance become indistinguishable from the purposes and ends of that resistance. Certainly the particular role which is pursued by a leader could determine whether or not Satyagraha was meaningful.

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21) Tomlin: The Oriental Philosophers (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1963), p. 231

As we indicated, Kenneth Kaunda was an almost fanatical Gandhian for as long as he was a nationalist agitating against British rule in Northern Rhodesia. Then finally independence came. Kaunda became Head of State. Could a Head of State in Africa, or indeed anywhere else in the world, ever regard it as meaningful to assert, as Kaunda had once done, "I reject absolutely violence in any of its forms as a solution to our problems?"

There was certainly an element of tragedy in what Kaunda was driven to do almost as soon as he assumed the reins of state on attainment of independence in 1964. Followers of Alice Lenshina, the Prophetess of the Lumpa Church exploded into acts of brutal vengeance against those they regarded their legitimate victims. Kaunda, an essentially peaceful man, was driven to make ruthless decisions - like the remarkable order he gave for the capture of Alice "dead or alive"! Kaunda as Head of Government was now embarking on a drive against violent fanatics - and Kaunda the man became almost guiltily defensive as he said "Let them call me a savage!" 22)

Had Kaunda completely renounced his old Gandhian principles of "rejecting absolutely violence in any of its forms as a solution"? In his defence it must indeed be argued that the doctrine of "absolute non-violence", which was never even espoused by Gandhi himself, would in any case only make sense if one was struggling against a government. It could not make sense as a policy to be persued by a government in power. One could say to a government: "Do not use more force than is necessary." But it would not be meaningful to say to a government: "Never use violent methods of law enforcement!" What if the government was up against a gang of armed law-breakers? What if one group of citizens was using violence against another? What if there was an armed insurrection by an extremist minority? In order to cope with such crises no government can afford to renounce the use of armed force. Indeed, political analysts since Max Weber have sometimes defined the state in terms of its "monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory." 23)

Kaunda in 1960 was a man struggling against a government. He was in a position to say: "I reject absolutely violence in any of its forms as a solution to our problems." What he must have meant was that he rejected the

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22) Reported in: Uganda Argus (Kampala) August 7, 1964

23) Weber, M.: Politics as a Vocation, in H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (eds.): From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology (New York: Oxford University Press, Gallaxy Books, 1958), pp. 77-78

use of violence by his fellow citizens against the government of the country. But Kaunda by August 1964 *was* the government of the country. And the Lumpa Church could only be subdued by counter-violence from government forces.

As for the degree of Kaunda's anger against the Lumpa Church, it might have been less due to the use of violence as such by members of the church than to the apparent "pointlessness" of it all. In an impassioned speech to Parliament in Lusaka, President Kaunda attributed to the Lumpa Church "a queer teaching that men must kill before they die." In response to people with such a belief, Kaunda assured the House:

> "My government will spare no efforts to bring them down as quickly as possible. Even if it means other people calling me savage then I am going to be one." 24)

Fortunately,it was not long before the Prophetess Alice appealed to her followers to desist from their acts and uphold the law. Peace was restored in Zambia. Yet the Lenshina outbreak remains a major landmark in the evolution of Kaunda's attitude to violence. With a rude shock he was forced to face the ultimate responsibilities of governing. Perhaps he even suddenly remembered that Gandhi himself never had to form and head a government *Satyagraha* worked in India as a strategy for winning self-government, but its relevance was limited in the *exercise* of self-government. Zambia in turn was now self-governing. But the strategy which enabled it to win this status was not "operational" as a method of ruling a country.

The ideological shock which Kaunda sustained as a result of the Lenshina outbreak was an important preparation for his attitude when Ian Smith unilaterally declared Rhodesia's independence the following year. Kenneth Kaunda was among the most vocal advocates of the use of military force against the Smith regime. Kaunda not only asked Britain to send troops into Rhodesia in order to safeguard the Kariba Dam, his government even claimed a secret understanding with Britain that physical force would be used against Smith by a certain date if economic sanctions failed to work. The British Government denied there had been any such understanding.But even if the "understanding" was wishful thinking on the part of Kaunda's government, it was a measure of a new attitude towards the legitimacy of violence.

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24) Uganda Argus, August 7, 1964, op. cit.

What we have in the role of Kaunda as President and his need to use physical force is, as we indicated, a merger between the agent of *Satyagraha*, Kaunda, and the cause against which the *Satyagraha* is used. What we have in addition, symbolized by Ian Smith, is the kind of regime against which *Satyagraha* would not work in any case. It may have been George Orwell who argued that the world would never have heard of Mohandas Gandhi had he been born in Stalin's Russia. The argument here was that the regime would not have tolerated a continuing defiance of this kind. Gandhi would have ended up in Siberia, or been quietly liquidated one night.

There were moments when Gandhi announced in advance the kind of lawbreaking he intended to perpetrate - and while the limelight of the world was focused on him he would proceed to engage in that exercise. His famous march to the sea to make salt was a case in point. The march worked because it was permitted to take place and because the limelight of the world was focused on this thin little man walking with earnest determination towards a symbolic moment of lawbreaking.

What the experience of British India indicates is that Gandhism works against oppressors who have retained some residual liberalism. The British officials in India itself might not have been liberal had they been left to themselves. But they were accountable to a society in England which was subject to liberal constraints. To that extent there were limits to the brutality which could be used to suppress civil disobedience without causing a serious political uproar at home in England. Gandhism worked against oppressors who would refrain from giving the order that the train move when agitators had placed themselves along the railway line to stop it moving.

That being the case, Gandhism could have worked in Rhodesia for as long as Rhodesia was ultimately accountable to London. This would have involved British pressure exercised on the local Rhodesian regime to restrain it from a brutal suppression of civil disobedience, and to encourage it towards concessions. But once Ian Smith successfully carried out a unilateral declaration of independence and the British restraining influence was severed, Gandhian techniques could no longer be trusted to work within Rhodesia. There is for the time being no precedent of a beleaguered white community, isolated in power in a former colony, being willing to give up that power without violence. What we have is the experience of colonial regimes withdrawing to their metropolis without violence. A number of the former British colonies and the former French colonies attained their independence without using methods which were contrary to the spirit of *Satyagraha*.

Even in the case of Algeria and Kenya, it was not an illustration of white settlers surrendering their power to Africans. It was a case of the colonial government in Europe no longer being willing to support the white settlers in maintaining themselves in power. The Algerians won their independence when de Gaulle withdrew the French commitment to the status quo and gradually recalled the army back to France. The local white Algerians were themselves furious and felt betrayed. They would never have given Algeria to Algerians if they had had the power to refuse.

Similarly, the Kenya settlers would not themselves have granted independence to black Africans but for the fact that the British Government in London was no longer prepared to maintain a white settler regime in Nairobi.

We can therefore say that de-colonialization in the sense of the withdrawal of a distant colonial regime back to the metropolis is quite feasible under the impact of non-violent protest. But de-racialization in the sense of ending a minority white government, in a situation where the white government does not rely on the metropolis, has so far not been accomplished non-violently. The only question which remains is whether it can ever be accomplished violently.

An internal revolution in South Africa or an internal violent insurrection in Rhodesia remain as almost the only potential techniques of ending white dominance not yet attempted.

But is there such a thing as international Gandhism? Is there such a thing as international Satyagraha? There may indeed be. After all, an essential aspect of passive resistance is, quite simply, non-cooperation. Attempts in Africa at boycotting South African goods, or refusing to recognize African passports, are all forms of non-cooperation. When a number of African states decided to stop trading with South Africa, that was international Gandhism. It was certainly the internationalization of the concept of Satyagraha in its non-cooperative dimension.

But the question still remains whether even international Satyagraha can work in a situation like that of South Africa. Are sanctions as a form of internationalized Gandhism likely to have the necessary effect on an entrenched racial hegemonic minority? Some experiments in this direction have already been attempted, but the outcome so far does not warrant excessive optimism about the efficacy of this kind of strategy given the regimes against which it is directed.

Yet in another racial situation, that of the United States, Satyagraha did work to some extent. Martin Luther King did symbolize a movement that was not entirely a failure.

White Americans, like the British in India, had in their political culture a residual liberalism. That political culture was not willing to allow too much brutalization against those who were protesting extra-constitutionally. Given that regime, Martin Luther King's tactic did stand a chance.

Yet even in the United States we have to look not merely at the residual liberalism of the regime, but also at the particular aims and the purposes of resistance. The American experience reveals that while Gandhism might work in increasing political and social equality, it is less effective in the task of achieving economic equality. The right to vote has been extended to more black Americans, partly as a result of Gandhian tactics. This de facto extension of the franchise has increased political equality in the United States. The right of blacks to share restaurants or buses with whites has been extended, partly in response to Gandhian pressure. This integration of restaurants, communications, and schools has increased social equality.

But the right not only to a decent income, but to an income commensurate with American prosperity, has proved more difficult to achieve without resort to urban rioting and violence.

Economic equality for blacks in the United States could either be attained through the triumph of socialism or through the full participation of black people in the central stream of American capitalism. There seems to be no adequate intermediate method of achieving black economic equality. Either the blacks must fully become a part of American capitalism, and have their fair share of millionaires, tycoons, and ownership of the means of production as private investors; or the blacks and the whites should become subject to a socialistic mode of distribution.

Property in a liberal political culture is too well protected to be easily given away without pressures which go beyond peaceful and Gandhian methods. Black people in Africa could win independence through Gandhi; black people in America could win the vote through Gandhi; black people in the world could win a seat in a white restaurant through Gandhi. But Gandhi was too ascetic, too frugal, too anti-materialistic, to be of much help in the fight for a bigger share in a capitalist cake. The black resort to rioting and violence in American cities, painful as it is while it lasts, may be an inescapable pre-condition for the economic restructuring of American civilization.

Here then once again we have outlined the limitations of passive resistance in relation to the ends and purposes which are being pursued.

Conclusion

We have sought to demonstrate in this paper the temporary triumph of pacific socialization in the black world, partly as a result of the dissemination of Gandhian ideas. But Gandhian ideas were in turn an element in an evolving world culture, currently still dominated by Western contributions in terms of skills and values, but potentially capable of being made more representative of the human heritage in all its pluralistic richness.

What the story of Gandhism in the black world shows us is, firstly, the importance of cultural interaction for certain trends in politics; secondly, the relevance of broader sociological factors in determining the boundaries of cultural transmission; and thirdly, the degree to which pacific socialization is not simply a matter of teaching particular values or particular courses but has to rely for its effectiveness on favourable social conditions and a responsive cultural environment.

And yet we must not lose track of the simple fact that Mahatma Gandhi did capture the imagination of people far removed from his own cultural origins. The future of peace education in the world could be significantly helped not only by a study of Gandhi's works, but also by a study of what it was that made his ideas influential at one time, and what it is that has led to their decline in effectiveness.

This should be combined with the commitment to make the study of Gandhism and its sociological and cultural environment an aspect of programmes of peace education throughout the world. The experience of a shared exposure to the same stimulation in schools and universities in otherwise vastly different national environments could itself become part of that momentous process by which the human race is at last evolving a world culture.

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WORLD PEACE AND HUMAN DIGNITY

If the "peace movement" in the world is to acquire legitimacy, it must base itself on a realistic understanding of the conflicts that exist in the present world and the causes of their persistence. Standing in the way of such an understanding is a certain intellectual tradition persistent in the Western world where the movement is presently located. This is the "universalist" creed in Western thought process, based on a conviction that the way to the solution of the problem of peace lies in the development of a strong sense of "world community", the conviction that a viable world order can only be based on the foundation of a "world culture". Further, there is a widely shared assumption that the world is already moving towards such a world community based on a mutual world culture and that the task of education is to hasten this process. Although most of the proponents of this viewpoint are not Marxists, the philosophy of history that seems to guide them is typically Marxist - the task of man and of knowledge is to discover the laws of motion of society and expedite them. Although their "laws of motion" are different from those in which Marxists believe and although most of them do not subscribe to the dialectics of class conflict - indeed their perspectives are typically bourgeois and their approach typically evolutionary - their basic methodology in respect of the role of man and reason in the process of history is not very different from that of the Marxists. What man needs to do is to put to use the vast potential of culture, communication and technology that has accumulated during the course of history. This also explains the charming but nevertheless naive streak of optimism and ease of style in a lot of recent writings on this subject.

I myself am also an optimist, but only to a certain extent. In my opinion, matters will improve if and only if men intervene in the process of history in a decisive manner, not just expediting current trends (except perhaps a few of them) but in fact reversing a great many of them. While I am somewhat touched by the vision of a single world community which would almost by definition be more peaceful and more just, I must say that I find this vision to be so all-embracing and universalistic as for all practical purposes to be trivial. Having been born and bred in a civilization where the great sages defined knowledge as being the search for the Ultimate and regarded the immediate and the next to immediate as profane and hence not worthy of attention, a course which brought their land to the brink of economic and political ruin, I must confess that I am deeply skeptical of all profound visions of the future that seek to depict a perfect state.

These visions give little attention to the process of geting there and to the serious problems and conflicts which must certainly be encountered, or at best mention them and then take up the position that they cannot be solved except by waiting for a world which will be a complete negation of them. I am more interested in focussing on the movement towards a relatively better world to the present one - frankly I have little interest in realizing a perfect state. This must be done by means of diagnosis of the problems and conflicts which pose themselves, from which we subsequently can derive a course of action in order to defeat them. Let me make it quite clear that this is not just a plea for so-called realism or pragmatism in which the details of statecraft are more important than larger issues of value and choice. Rather, I believe that if we approach the subject of peace and poverty, of violence and justice, through the perspective of coming to grips with conflicts and problems and designing a course of action to deal with them, we will also be able to raise certain theoretical and normative questions which are likely to be either ignored or misconceived in more sweeping assessments and ideal type formulations that tend to omit these stages.

Two Worlds

I will in fact start with raising such general questions before going to more specific aspects of my own perspective on minimizing violence and injustice in the world. To no small extent the general optimism regarding the future of world order found in the mainstream of current thinking on world affairs is based on an assessment that the condition of the last one hundred years in which (to quote Kenneth E. Boulding, one of the leading authors of the Western world) there were "islands of stable peace in a world of unstable peace", is giving place to one in which we are likely to find ourselves in "a world of stable peace with islands of unstable peace". It seems to me that such a view is based more on a sweeping act of faith rather than on an assessment of emerging reality and is in any case based on a narrow conception of human geography. For surely the so called "islands" of unstable peace happen to be entire continents, most of which are beyond the Atlantic and the Mediterranean and below the 40th parallel, but they happen to represent a majority of mankind.

The reasons for this kind of argument are understandable. After all the world in which these analysts reside is more peaceful than was the case a hundred years ago. Nuclear deterrence has worked in this world - even if it means an ever larger allocation of world resources to the war industry and even if the world spends close to 200 billion dollars on the "threat system" and less than half a billion dollars on the "integration system" (terms coined by Boulding). Finally, the doctrines of ballance of power, spheres of influence and containment of sources of global conflict have also worked to an extent. However, it is necessary to understand the reasons for all this pacification of the world and its survival in the face of the massive arsenals of human destruction. Built into this very scenario of declining threat of a global war are the phenomena of oligopolistic control of the weapons system, growing disparities in access to technology and economic prosperity, and above all a highly potent combination of domination of world political and economic processes by the super-powers and a policy of quarantining the vast populations that live below the 40th parallel by a mighty alliance between yesterday's adversaries. To put it briefly, it is by denying these peoples - or a large majority of them - their dignity and autonomy as human beings and as states that the dawn of stable peace in the world can be expected. In my opinion, this is not a scenario of stable peace and an integrated world but rather one of a sharp duality of the world in which both peace and justice are under continuous state of threat. Nor do I see the growth of a common intellectual culture enveloping the whole world under these conditions. Nor indeed the possibility of a "spaceship earth" in a "stationary state" - no matter what the technocrats are forecasting.

Perspective on Non-Violence

That brings me to Ali Mazrui's conception of a shared (as distinct from a universal) world culture. (See his paper in this volume.) Mazrui's conception is, of course, more to my taste than the universalist claim of Western authors as should be expected (given the minimal kinship of those whose vocation is to articulate the problems and interests of the "Third World"). For, despite his weakness for Shakespeare and Scotch Whisky (which happen to be my weaknesses too) Mazrui immediately recognizes the fact that what nowadays is termed as being "world culture" is in fact the culture of the dominant race. He would like to move towards a more truly integral world culture in which the intellectual and cultural products of the great Eastern civilization and of Africa - and I would add Latin America - would interact with the great heritage of the West, which of course no one can ignore. As an example of such a composite world culture, Mazrui introduces Mahatma Gandhi and his doctrine of nonviolence. According to Mazrui, despite the ups and downs of Gandhi's influence among the underprivileged peoples of the world and despite its limitation in solving the economic problem facing the world, this doctrine might provide a basis for a peaceful world order.

Now I do agree with Mazrui on the relevance of Gandhi to the times we live in and to the evolution of a truly global perspective on peace. Gandhi is, after all, one of the most profound and breath-taking phenomena that the modern world has witnessed. And if we are to design a just and peaceful world, we all need to partake of the values and insights and exhortations that Gandhi lay before his countrymen while he lived and has now left behind for the whole world. But it is exactly as I say this and thus agree with Professor Mazrui's general theme that my differences with him begin. For I think Mazrui's treatment of Gandhi and his heritage from the viewpoint of identifying enduring principles of a just and peaceful world is not only too partial but also profoundly superficial. To identify Gandhi with the doctrine of nonviolence is to make Gandhi only superficially relevant to some and wholly impracticable to others, as is shown in the detailed documentation of Mazrui's paper. It is true that Martin Luther King in America and Nkrumah in West Africa and Kaunda in East Africa and other leaders of the Black movement were, at certain stages in their own development, deeply influenced by Gandhi's movement of nonviolent non-cooperation and passive resistance in India. It is also true that most of these leaders soon found out the limits of nonviolence in the situations in which they were placed, which has led the author of the paper to analyze the reasons for its failure in Africa. But the point is that nonviolence provides no more than a technology of resistance which may or may not work in particular situations. A given technology is necessarily a limited social mechanism suited to a given socio-political milieu. Gandhi's lasting importance lies not in the technology he advocated for India, Indians in South Africa, and the Blacks in Africa and America, but in the worldview that lay behind it and the values that he was trying to realize.

Gandhi's Diagnosis

As I see it, what Gandhi was trying to attain for his people was to raise their consciousness to contain nothing less than to fight for the autonomy and dignity of man - against the encroaching forces of imperialism, the centralized state, a technological civilization, and a view of man and nature and work which led to a continuous process of manipulation at all levels. Gandhi's concept of nonviolence acquires meaning only as part of this general striving for the autonomy and integrity of man, and as a necessary condition thereof and spur to it, of individual human collectivities as well. Whereas a particular technology of resistance may or may not work - and it should be remembered that Gandhi's advocacy of nonviolence was always both complex and conditional - this basic pursuit has universal relevance.

Once this is realized, not only do the limitations of the particular technique become part of the model but its alleged inapplicability to other spheres of life, such as in the solution of the economic problem facing poor countries, also turns out to be a misunderstanding of the basic approach. For Gandhi had vigorously applied his approach to tackle the economic needs of poor, capital-scarce, and labor-surplus societies, and had on that basis built an elaborate structure of prescriptions. Gandhi's alleged opposition to modern technology has been usually presented in a highly distorted fashion, but his basic opposition to the ethic of consumption and the ethic of production that were based on an increasing exploitation of the acquisitive spirit in man provided him with a basis for a more balanced view of various relationships - between man and nature, between man and work, between production and consumption, and between man's autonomy vis à vis others and his control over his own self. Nonviolence was for Gandhi an aspect of man's struggle for his integrity and honor on the one hand, and freedom through self-control on the other. Violence was to be eschewed not just because it hurt someone (or oneself) but rather because it brutalized the self and led to loss of self-control and freedom and the sense of one's honor and dignity. If preservation of this freedom and honor necessitated violence, Gandhi would permit it - as he had said more than once.

This aspect of Gandhi's teaching is enormously relevant today. It is really immaterial whether Hindus are more ascetical than Africans and hence more suited to the suffering that nonviolent resistance involves (Mazrui, pp. 54), nor is it terribly relevant that Gandhi was fighting against a regime that was liberal at home whereas the struggles in Rhodesia and South Africa are against patently unliberal regimes (Mazrui, pp. 54). The main issue in the pacification of the world we find around us is not just the success or failure of the technique of nonviolent resistance, but rather the more fundamental struggle for the autonomy of men and states as a necessary prerequisite of both peace and social justice. Boulding's expected "stable peace" based on current trends is unacceptable because it does not pass this test. Mazrui's advocacy of Gandhian nonviolence as a part of peace education for creating a "world culture", while unexceptionable in itself, seems to miss the essence for the detail.

Value of Diversity

If the underdeveloped nations are to acquire real autonomy, I would expect a greater emphasis on diversity of cultures rather than their standardization, a growing expression of national self-consciousness and assertion of what the propagators of the dominant race deride as "parochialism", and a general self-assertion of submerged individuals, groups and nations. Speaking for myself, I am not terribly enamoured of the growth of a "world culture" or a sense of world community, and certainly not by the conception of some single overriding world authority ensuring "peace" and dispensing "justice" to all, nor even by the vague ideas arising out of the technological dream of a single spaceship known as Earth. Basically, I value the freedom of man and his capacity to make choices, the diversity of his culture and the integrity of his tradition, his ability to realize both his individual and his collective selves - all of this through acts of choice which are informed by a cultivated sense of control over himself and obligation towards others with whom he is bound by ties of kinship, territoriality and a common historical destiny. My conception of being of this earth is different from making of it a totalistic transcendental object of identity and loyalty; it rather consists of a certain "earthiness" which is rooted and which entails equal regard for the roots of other men and cultures.

As we look round the world today, it is precisely this primary prerequisite of a stable and tolerable world order - namely, the ability of human beings to control their own diverse futures and the futures of the diverse politico-economic entities in which they live - that is being compromised in the name of science, technology, economic development, and international peace. This is the case not only in the poor and underdeveloped countries but in the rich and overdeveloped countries as well. For surely just as a state of dependence generates forces that negate the values of freedom and dignity, so do the forces released in the centers of dominance. Of course, the more difficult and intransigent problems in this respect are concentrated in the continents - islands? - below the 40th parallel. The scenario that already obtains there and is likely to get worse is one of growing populations whose per capita access to both natural resources and capital goods is declining; where the proportion of the young in total populations is steeply rising; where education is becoming a profound agency of alienation; where the rate of growth of economic opportunities generated by the prevailing technological model is unable to keep pace with either the rate of growth of those seeking employment or the rate of urbanization; where unstable boundaries, alien ideologies, and the opportunistic play of big power politics are fomenting conflicts and violence; and where all these factors converge to produce the appeal of pseudo radicalism in the economic field and strong-fisted militancy in politics - without in fact attending to either the economic problems of the people or the achievement of genuine political autonomy and stability. I do not see how a "world of stable peace with islands of unstable peace" can be erected on such a basis except, as I said earlier, by ensuring "stable peace" for one hemisphere of the world through a quarantining of the other more troublesome, chaotic, and miserable hemisphere, essentially by employing the old game of balance of power, more or less on the lines on which the "Holy Alliance" operated throughout a good part of the nineteenth century. I doubt, of course, if even this will work.

Two Dimensions

As I see it, there are two major dimensions of ensuring a world more peaceful than the one that seems to be developing before our eyes. The first of these is the achievement of a world consisting of autonomous states that are in a position to enjoy a much more meaningful equality of status than today; the second is the ability of these states to provide minimum living conditions for their peoples, which also entails a certain minimum of equality among them. It is by fulfilling these two dimensions that the prime value of freedom and self-reliance of human beings can be realized, and gradually a more wholesome approach to both nature and technology will become possible.

Posed in this manner, the issue before us is not to bridge the wide gaps that divide affluent and poor countries: this is neither feasible nor desirable. Instead, attention should be focussed on achieving minimum conditions for all,and certain maximum conditions beyond which it is considered unethical to allow consumption to go - according to regionally approved standards of minima and maxima. Similarly, in the political sphere, the issue is not one of evolving a single world community that will ensure peace but rather a community of self-respecting and independent states who learn to live together by virtue of their autonomy and equality and who are able to evolve rational modes of resolving differences and disputes.

A number of strategies follow from such a dimensionalization of the problem of peace through justice and autonomy and the broad choices in respect of those dimensions. I do not have the space here to lay out a full model of these strategies and the reasoning behind them; I have made an attempt to do so in my monograph written for the World Order Models Project (Footsteps into the Future, Delhi, September 1972) To put the matter briefly, it seems to me that we have to erect states and modes of cooperation between states which will fulfil the twin tasks spelt out above. I suggest that this calls for a major effort in self-help and self-reliance among the nations of the world, especially those below the 40th parallel. My own model for this effort consists of, among other things, a regional approach - a pooling of resources and economic and governmental systems. It is a model of a world composed of twenty to twenty-five regions, in the form of economic unions to begin with, and gradually moving towards federations of present day nation states which will in the course of time become regional member states of a world federation.

The Federal Process

The federal process, in my view, is the only desirable as well as feasible mode of overcoming both atomism and inequity in world political and economic arrangements, of providing peoples with the sense of power and self-regard crucial to the growth of any genuine sense of community with others, of keeping out the murky appearances of the balance of power system in the various regions, and of enabling local politics to devise means of attending to the problems of poverty and unemployment on the basis of an exercise of choice in respect of relevant mixes of technology, economic policy, educational techniques, and politico-administrative systems. No amount of aid lobbying, urging capital owners to invest in underdeveloped areas, and general conscience-rousing by dedicated Westerners and angry radicals among them is going to do much good; it could do some harm, as indeed it has done so far. The balance sheet of both foreign aid and foreign investment, as well as of the new breed of white evangelism - namely, "exporting revolution" for the "good of the natives" - is so far negative on the whole, though there may be some positive gains in some areas - largely in countries which were bound by military alliances with one of the great powers. In any case, these mechanisms have made peace in the world more unstable than stable, for they have invariably increased cleavages within recipient societies and numbed the thinking power of their elites and counter-elites.

The basic reason for such a consequence of both the evangelism of foreign aid and the evangelism of revolution is that, based as they both are on universal solutions to human problems - there is more in common between the two than is usually admitted - they have almost everywhere undermined attitudes conducive to a sense of integrity , autonomy, pride in oneself, and confidence in one's own solutions and "models". If we are to achieve this, there is a need to have a structure of states and economic relationships among them which are conducive to these qualities. The only way of starting this process is by regional consolidations of present small and insufficient states, first on an economic basis - fulfilling Boulding's criterion of "exchange" as a principle of the social system - and in the course of time through political unions - fulfilling his second criterion of "integration".

Role of Education

The question arises: how does one start this process, or expedite it in regions where it has already been started? Here comes the role of the educational process, of the intellectuals, of a sustained dialogue between thinkers and men of action. In many of these countries, there is a great deal of self-doubt, lurking suspicions of others in the same region, stubborn legacies of ethnic rivalry, and not a little temptation among ruling elites to trade off their independence for a few crumbs thrown by outside powers or the multinational corporations. There are also deliberate efforts by the outsiders to single out some of the poorer countries and to heap them with favors, whereas others are discriminated against - as is clear from the policies pursued by the EEC countries. All this has to be overcome. Most of it is out of date, based on irrational fears and insufficient perception of one's own interest, and in any case not in keeping with political and economic autonomy.

During the last few years, the value of this autonomy has been going up in various parts of the world - Indochina, South Asia, Latin America, the Middle East - and it should be possible to remove the cobwebs in the way of its full realization. But with such an assertion of autonomy - if it is not to turn into regional jingoism - also goes a whole package of economic and technological choices on which too a major educational effort is needed.

In India, where we are faced with these problems in a big and challenging manner, these issues have come out in the open. What precisely is the economic strategy needed by a capital-scarce and labor-surplus society, where the single most important element in the growth of poverty has been the problem of a growing scale of unemployment which modern industry simply cannot relieve? What implications does this have for agriculture and the nature of land settlements? And in the non-agricultural sectors, what are the locational strategies involved - how much decentralization, what nature of consumption, what mixture of government provided welfare and familial and community based self-help? What are the implications of a policy of economic self-reliance (based on a deliberate policy of reducing dependence on foreign aid) for trade policies, for balancing both external and internal budgets, and generally for industrial and technological relationships within and beyond the region? These are only a few of the questions which call for definite answers. These issues are still on the anvil. The old techno-economic model, that may have been appropriate for a labor-scarce economy which had a long period over which to develop and was not encumbered by political pressures for distribution "while the cake was baking", will just not do - except perhaps by resusciating another colonial era.

Focus on Research

As we seek to work out the implications of a world structured along autonomous regions and pursuing a techno-economic model alternative to the one that has dominated the world so far, one item where educationists can play an enormous role is research. Perhaps the gravest of all colonial relationships has been in the area of research dependence. This is based on the facile notion that research - or R & D as the new jargon goes - is expensive and that in any case it is easy to import it from the metropolitan centers and then "apply" and "adapt" it. The result has been complete dependence in technology, in basic sciences, in economic structures, in intellectual culture - and through all these in international political relationships as well. Today, as various nations are aspiring to evolve alternative models of attending to their affairs, they find themselves hamstrung by this research and technological dependence. Meanwhile in all these countries the role of local scientists and intellectuals has been devalued. They too have lost their self-regard and have become appendages to Harvard and MIT and Sorbonne and Cambridge.

Alternative Model

It is necessary to start major research programs in both basic sciences and in technology, as well as in the social sciences and humanities in these countries which face quite different problems and call for alternative models of socio-economic and technological reconstruction. This does not mean that intellectuals and scientists from other parts of the world cannot work on these problems. On the contrary, here is one area on which a great deal of cooperation on a world-wide basis is possible. The only prerequisite is that it be understood that one is not working on simply "transferring" available knowledge (or "know-how" as the cliché goes) but rather in the exciting adventure of evolving new knowledge for creating a different kind of world. If the world is to move towards an order that is based on the freedom of men and states, it will need an alternative economic, political and technological model than the present one which is suited to an order based on dependence and degradation of a majority of both human beings and states.

The development of such a model will call for work at a variety of levels. It provides a challenge for educationists the world over - provided they first educate themselves on what is really involved in achieving a just and peaceful world. What is involved is at once more important and more modest than the conception of a single "world community" bound together by a common "world culture".

Let me now move from this very general critique to a few pointed comments which I should like to address to thinkers and analysts of those living above the 40th parallel. (It would be best that I talk to you here in "I and you" terms - as from one living below the 40th parallel to a group of which the overwhelming majority lives above it.)

Let me say right away that my basic concern is different from yours. Your concern is basically what you should do for the world. You appear to still want to carry the burden of the whole world. My concern is different: it is what the countries of the Third World ought to do themselves - and how.

In my opinion the first move would be to undo the colonial system which still persists and the colonial psyche which is still potent. The worst result of the colonial period was the destruction of self-regard and sense of dignity of those living in the colonized societies. A large scale myopia was set in motion in which people began to hate their own societies, their own traditions, their own cultures. For these were not "modern", whatever that term may mean. It follows, then, that the paramount need of the time is to restore this self-regard, this dignity. This is why people like me are more interested in what we can do for ourselves than what you can do for us. Both the talk of raising aid or undertaking large transfers, or even taxing yourselves for us, and the talk of universality, of a world community, of a global perspective, seem to me not only distractive from the main task but perhaps a positive dampener of it. In fact I suspect that all such talk is a subtle means of continuation of the dominance of the dominant world.

I also think that the economic approach to world problems involved in these concepts of aid and taxation and transfer have the grave defect of being apolitical - of leaving out the crucial power dimensions: where power is concentrated in your societies and in ours; from where is it to be mobilized, by whom and for whom? It takes little account of not only the international but also the internal political dynamics of either the developed or the developing countries.

Let me also say that the other kind of talk in which some of your intellectuals are involved, namely of creating and supporting counter-elites in our societies and "liberating" us from our decadent rulers I find equally obnoxious and dangerous. I will put it quite bluntly: It is none of your business to come and interfere in our domestic political processes. Leave us to ourselves. There is enough wrong in your own societies and political structures. Try and change your own world and the sources of exploitation and oppression that you have engendered throughout the world. That will be the best contribution you will have made to create a better world.We do not want to be liberated by you. We want neither aid nor ideology from you - I personnally consider both your conservatives and your radicals involved in the same enterprise, namely of perpetuating your dominance over us.

That brings me to the notion of "bridging the gap" between poor and rich countries. I suggest that this conception is neither feasible nor desirable. It is not feasible because to repeat an America or a Germany all over the world will require such massive capital, such coercive measures and such destruction of existing institutions at so many levels that the utopia will turn into a distopia. But I also consider this utopia to be undesirable and reject it. It does not attract me. You have already reached your utopia - the only utopia that the Western world outlook ever produced - and you have had a taste of what it means. I consider "affluence" and all that goes with it as not only unreachable for our countries but also undesirable. Instead, we need to work towards a culture of sharing poverty and on that basis sharing prosperity.

We need to work towards an alternative model - a model in which not only minima are realized but also maxima are enforced, where consumption is not an end but a means, and where participation in both the productive and the political processes become the principal medium of social regeneration, while still leaving the individual to pursue his own self-realization through both a cultivation of the self and control over the self. (I have developed this model in detail in my book Footsteps into the Future.)

Now if you agree that such an alternative model for our future is desirable and needs to be worked out in practice, you can see that any tying down of the Third World countries to the world economic system through either "aid" or "integration" will only postpone this undertaking. The only way for the Third World countries is to take the initiative themselves to improve their own affairs and their place in the world. In my opinion, creative nationalism and not internationalism or globalism has to become the most potent force of contemporary history. This requires a number of things: realization of real autonomy in these nations, solidarity among them, institutionalization of the autonomy process through regionalization and federalization, and the formation of intellectual and other movements in order to achieve all this. The real gap that is to be filled is of political and psychological nature. Everything else, including economic development, will follow. There is no mystery any more on how to bring about economic development. What is not properly understood yet, however, are the basic issues of political development. The current literature on political development provides no guide to these issues. On the contrary, it is positively harmful to the kind of alternative model that I have in mind here.

As part of this overall process and on the basis of the power that they achieve, these countries can, of course, ask for control of economic decisions affecting the world, the new developments in the oceans and the skies, even some return of the plunder that enabled you to develop yourselves and dominate our world and wage wars against us. But this will be neither aid nor sacrifice on your part; it should rather be regarded as returning to us what you owe to us in the first place. And, of course, when you change *your* world and the consumption demon that is devouring you, and if you are left with surpluses of capital, we would be prepared to discuss with you how to use it in our areas - on the basis of reciprocity based on a recognition of dignity of each other.

My assumption in all this argument is that the problem is not merely an economic one, but in fact much profounder. The economic problem itself has been made so acute because of (a) certain attitudes and behaviour patterns among both the colonizing and the colonized countries and (b) certain persisting structures of plunder and exploitations. As I see it, the need is to change both the *structure* of present reality and its *culture* - a change of culture being by far the most impor[illegible] The revolution that is needed will need to be primarily cultural. But this will have to be on the basis of realizing the cultures of given regions and not of some enveloping "world culture". Rather, it will have to be the culture of political regeneration, of asserting our individuality as states, of so grouping and reorganizing our states that the wide gap in power that accounts for the present duality in world structure is bridged. In short, it is the culture of diversity that we should try to assert. Only by these means can we attain true integration.

The basic need, then, is not to undo "structural violence" or the likes through some transcendental mechanisms but to *transform attitudes*. The root of these attitudes, of course, is to be traced in the European enlightenment and its expansion throughout the world through the theory of progress. This has been the great dynamic of modern history and it accounts for a large part of today's patterns of dominance and dependence. (I have developed this point at some length in *Footsteps*.) In our attempt to undo this dynamic, *you* have a lot of educational task to perform in your own societies. And we will need to do the same in our societies in our own way. At some stage, perhaps, these efforts will become complementary and lead to a larger unity.

G.N. FILONOV (USSR)

EDUCATING YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE SPIRIT AND IDEAS OF INTERNATIONALISM AND PEACE

The present stage of development of the socialist world system and the international working-class and youth movement provides convincing proof of the vitality of the idea of socialist internationalism. Public ownership of the means of production, scientific management of socio-economic life, the politically and ideologically unanimous way the workers support the communist and workers' parties, the comprehensive development of the people's social activities, the rise in material prosperity and the cultural standard are becoming decisive factors in promoting an almost completely international way of public life for socialism.

This applies particularly to the Soviet Union itself, within whose boundaries a large number of different nationalities live together. "The more vigorous the social and economic development of each of our national republics is", said L.J. Brezhnev in his speech on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the USSR "the more evident the process of internationalisation of our whole way of life will become. Take, for example, the rapidly growing Soviet-Kazakhstan. Besides the Kazakhs, there are millions of Russians, several hundred thousand Ukrainians, Uzbeks, Belorussians etc. The cultural life of Kazakhstan is growing and being enriched, thanks to the fact that it absorbs the best from Russian, Ukrainian, and other cultures. Is this good or bad? We communists will reply with conviction: it is good, very good!"

The dynamic and therefore complex process of internationalisation comprises extremely varied forms. Specialisation and cooperation in production create the conditions required for a true division of labour throughout the entire country and it is this that guarantees the successful development of the whole of the socialist economy. The forms of communication and links between the nations are made all the more diverse by the mutual exchange of material and cultural assets and of specialist personnel. What also becomes evident is the rapprochement of the nations, the evolution of common features and traditions, while each nation continues to develop its own progressive traditions and cultural values.

The invigorating force of internationalism is embodied in the joint, creative efforts of the working population of all the Union Republics and Autonomous Republics, in the self-sacrificing work of the Soviet people in the various fields of economic and cultural development. The continuous growth of the economic potentiality and the boom in science and culture of every single republic provides a real basis for the union of the working populations of every nationality through their having the same goals, the same interests and the same ideas. As practical experience has shown, the fixing of these ideas in people's minds, the establishing of deep internationalist convictions promotes the workers' activities and social responsibility for the punctual fulfilment of industrial orders and of socialist commitments, the growth of productivity and the optimum use of the country's reserves in order to guarantee a general boom in the rate of socialist production and to perfect its organisation and technology.

Our socialist society is free of class and national antagonism. Strengthening its social uniformity by upholding the leading role of the working class means that new possibilities arise for developing the international awareness of the Soviet people of its being a new community in the history of the world. Rooted in the solid foundation of Marxist-Leninist ideology, of a uniform way of socialist life and of broadly based international cooperation, the workers of every nationality are able to demonstrate through the concrete results of their work the high degree of their socialist awareness - an awareness permeated by a deep realisation that they are participating in the task of creating a communist society. Some of the features which characterise the spirit of the true socialist are his concern for the interests of his native country, his ability to sacrifice his own interests to those of society, his irreconcilable attitude towards national and racial prejudice, the international class solidarity he feels with the workers of other countries, his active support of their attempts to defend peace and democracy.

All these features together can be regarded as characteristic of the nationalities and peoples in our country. This fact indicates that the international awareness of the working population in general and of youth in particular, has attained a qualitatively new level, on which the ideals of internationalism have become deeply ingrained and are now embodied in the practical activities of millions of working people in the socialist countries. "Does it not seem strange and marvellous", writes A. El'vel't, a worker in the excavator factory in Tallinn, "when one realises that one's own work is needed both locally and in distant parts of the country and that one is being helped in one's work by friends here and far away? How broad the term native country becomes when one knows one has brethren and friends who live hundreds and thousands of miles away."

The socialist society strives continually to increase its material prosperity, to improve the cultural life of its people and to raise the level of education of young people. For socialist countries to accomplish these vitally important tasks of socialism means they are fulfilling their international obligations. In this respect, much of what was laid down in the directives of the 24th Congress of the CPSU has already been carried out.

In the years 1971 and 1972 about 4.5 million flats were built in the towns and villages. We should mention here that during the last decade some 110 million Soviet citizens have moved into new accomodation. Expenditure for improving welfare facilities for mothers and children has been increased again and again in our country. Each year about one and a half million rubels are spent on maternity allowances, on child maintenance and on subsidising unmarried mothers and families with many children. Mothers are granted paid maternity leave before and after delivery, as well as additional unpaid leave every year. They retain their previous jobs and there is no break in their earnings based on length of service. Besides this, they can claim various subsidies and special services, and can use sanatoriums or health resorts free of charge.

Some 10 million children are being brought up in our country's pre-school institutions. If one recalls that the parents pay 94 rubels p.a. for a nursery school place and 78 rubels for a creche place it becomes obvious that the state pays most of the maintenance costs. In 1972 alone, some 5 billion rubels were spent on this, as well as on maintaining children in pioneer camps, children's homes and other institutions for out-of-school activities. In the same year state expenditure on maintaining schools of general education and boarding schools amounted to over 7 billion rubels.

The essentially international policy of the socialist state guarantees every young person, whatever his nationality or race, the opportunity to receive full secondary education. In the fifty years since the foundation of the Soviet multi-national state there have been decisive changes in the quality of the education of our peoples. Dozens of nations and nationalities have jumped from a state of complete illiteracy to a truly flourishing primary, secondary and further education. This can also be vividly demonstrated by reviewing the statistics. In the two decades preceding the last war 60 million illiterates received instruction, while in the last twenty years 71 million people have finished the incomplete secondary school and 32 million the complete secondary school. In the fifty-five years of Soviet Power 16 million people have received specialised secondary education and 10 million a university education. Teaching is done in the mother tongue of whichever nationality is being taught. The overall number of pupils attending general secondary schools has risen by at least one fifth during the years of Soviet Power and there are now at least 46 times as many pupils in the 5th to 10th (11th) classes!

Just recently the Communist Party and the Soviet Government have laid down concrete ways of achieving the final transition to full secondary education for all young people. To promote this, particular emphasis is being laid on developing and expanding the general secondary school as a polytechnical labour school, the main type of school at which young people are to receive secondary education; plans have also been made to decisively improve the work of evening, shift and correspondence secondary schools, to create the conditions necessary for providing secondary education for young people already in employment and to guarantee a high level of general education in the secondary professional-technical schools and secondary specialized schools.

In the struggle to attain the ideals of peace and social progress the world youth movement has an increasingly important role to play. The active participation of young men and women at world festivals, their work in the movements supporting revolutionary Cuba and the heroic struggle of the people of Vietnam, their condemnation of the attempts of reactionary circles in many countries to place obstacles in the way of social progress - this is all convincing proof of the growing resoluteness with which the progressive youth of this world, and in particular the younger generation of the countries of the socialist community, are challenging the forces of aggression and reaction and actively defending the principles of peaceful coexistence, friendship and cooperation among the peoples of the world. The Xth World Youth and Students' Festival in Berlin has demonstrated afresh quite clearly the unity and indivisibility of the youth movement, passing the torch of peace and friendship on to the 1973 Universiad in Moscow.

The meeting of the world's youth was overwhelmingly successful. It was all the more significant as it took place on the eve of an extremely important occasion, the World Congress of Peace Loving Forces in Moscow. "In the course of the incomparably widespread struggle of the nations of the world for clear, peaceful skies over our planet", said P.M. Masherov, first secretary to the C.C. of the Communist Party of Belorussia, "the young generation has produced a large number of brave and steadfast defenders of the cause of peace and social justice. In this struggle youth has been gaining maturity and acquiring political and moral experience, and it has also been learning the lessons of class struggle and internationalism."

True to the ideals of internationalism, peace and friendship among nations the young Soviet generation has been making a considerable contribution to the implementation of the peace programme evolved by the 24th Congress of the CPSU. Hand in hand with the older generation young people are working steadily to increase the economic and cultural capacity of the highly developed socialist society. They have concentrated their gifts and creative talents on the main spheres of scientific and technical progress, on increasing productivity and on envigorating the economy. Thanks to key work done by the Komsomolites, a large number of construction sites have been set up for vast industrial projects under the ninth five year plan. Truly heroic work is characteristic of the young constructors of the enormous hydroelectric power stations on the Angara and the Yenisei, of the founders of the mighty chemical works in Mogilev and Novopolotsk, the petroleum town on the Pripyat and many other projects of immense economic importance. Youth's desire for innovation and its enthusiasm, its own particular patriotism and its deep realisation of its international obligations help every young person to scale the heights of modern knowledge and ideological maturity, and to contribute befittingly to the common cause of the struggle for peace and social progress.

The future of this world of ours depends to a large extent on educating the young generation in the spirit and ideas of socialist internationalism and peace. Aware of the historical necessity of this task the Communist Party and the Soviet State, the educational institutions, the children's and youth organisations all constantly devote their attention to educating young people for internationalism. In socialist schools this is done by integrating it with all aspects of the teaching process. Even today the words of that significant educator, N.K. Krupskaya, have lost none of their relevance: "International education should be a concern of daily life and not merely limited to international meetings and special occasions. The whole work of education should in fact be pervaded by it."

In the process of school instruction the pupils acquire knowledge about the nationality policy of the socialist state as well as a deep understanding of the principles of socialist internationalism. In school, in extra-curricular activities and in the Pioneer and Komsomol organisation pupils are shown how the Socialist October Revolution, under the leadership of the Bolshevist Party, represented the greatest international achievement ever. For the first time in history the chain of imperialism was broken, the basis for the first socialist state in the world was created and all over the world the conditions of the workers' struggle for freedom were radically changed. The very first mother country of the working man became the stronghold of the world's revolutionary process, a vast economic power which supports the development of national, anti-imperialist movements.

The work of the Pioneer Organisation (for children) and the Komsomol Organisation (for adolescents) plays an important role in the system of the international education of children and young people. The All-Union V.I. Lenin Pioneer Organisation unites in its ranks about 26 million children and is at present working in conjunction with children's organisations in more than 80 countries. It actively participates in international actions and campaigns to protect peace, and it educates children in the spirit of internationalism, of fraternal solidarity and friendsnip between peoples, of class hatred of the enemies of peace, as well as in the spirit of social justice. During the period they have been in existence, Soviet schools and the children's organisations have acquired considerabl experience in the sphere of international education. One of the numerous examples of this is the experience of the 21st school in Moscow. Bonds of friendship link the pupils of this school with 21st schools of other towns, not only in the Soviet Union but also in the socialist countries, e.g. in Berlin. The children know a lot about their friends in the other 21st schools; they learn about each other, they share their experiences and help one another. After the earthquake the 21st school in Tashkent received parcels from 21st school in various towns of the Soviet Union, including Moscow. The Pioneers and Komsomolites sent their friends in Tashkent money they had earnt by working in the country. Such efforts provide opportunities for developing creative, progressive types of work in as many educational collectives and Pioneer groups as possible, no matter in what district, town or republic they are situated, and thus contribute to the cause of international education.

In the last few years many new forms and methods of international education have been developed. Many schools have a collective membership in the Friendship Associations of various countries. Some schools have "museums" and corners devoted to international friendship. In Moscow, for instance, there are museums such as the "Young Anti-Fascist", "The Storm Bells of Buchenwald", "Venezuela's Struggle". The contents of the museums and their extensive correspondence have a powerful influence on education, promoting the spirit of anti-imperialist solidarity, peace and friendship among the nations. The Pioneers in the USSR have received a reply to their letter to Gustavo Machiro, Secretary of the Communist Party of Venezuela, who writes from prison, "Dear Pioneers, Your letter has made me very happy ... Long years of fighting, exile and prison have taught us to appreciate human solidarity and, more particularly, international solidarity. And, although there is a big difference in ages between the Pioneers of your country and us political prisoners, that does not prevent us from saying: Up with peace and happiness on earth. Up with friendship between all children in the world."

The All-Union Pioneer rally "Always prepared" and one of its routes under the motto "Peace and Solidarity" are components of the world campaign "Youth unmasks Imperialism" and they have become an important stimulus for developing international work and educating children for feelings of friendship and solidarity. The Pioneers who follow this "route" react to world events with lively interest, learn about the struggles of foreign children of their own ag and, together with adults, participate in campaigns supporting other nations in their legitimate struggle against imperialism. There is no international event, whatever its significance, to which the children would not act appropriately. An example of this are the political mass demonstrations demanding freedom for Angela Davis and the end of the war in Vietnam, which is now constructing a life in peace.

Clubs of international friendship have become the most widespread form of international education. They have important tasks to fulfill; they acquaint the children with the international traditions of the Soviet people and with the lives and struggle of outstanding representatives of the international and communist movements and of famous champions of peace. They know of the valorous deeds of young anti-fascists and study the heroic acts of their fellow-country men who have taken part in freeing the peoples of Europe from the fascist yoke. The clubs reconstruct the course of these deeds, thus adding new aspects to the annals of friendship of many republics and countries.

Other important ways of promoting international education are political studies and socially useful work. All that is undertaken in this direction helps to form a class-conscious approach when evaluating international events, convinces the young generation of the absolute necessity of international solidarity among the workers, develops the feelings of friendship and respect for people of all nationalities and also teaches young people to be intolerant of the enemies of peace and socialism.

Efficient ways of achieving this are: political fact-spreading, various types of work on children's newspapers and magazines, the use of slides, films, radio and television broadcasts, the organisation of meetings and demonstrations, discussions, talks, conventions. This work develops the child's interest in socio-political events and in the international policy of the Soviet state, as well as increasing the Pioneers' and Komsomolites'engangement in international work.

In numerous schools in our country so-called universities and schools of young internationalists have become extremely popular among older Pioneers and Komsomolites. In lectures and seminars teachers assist the students of these "universities" in studying questions of home and foreign policy of the USSR and countries abroad, problems of economic relationships among the countries of the socialist community, and questions of the international youth movement. The students of the University of the Municipal Pioneer and Student Palace in Moscow took an active part in the celebrations held on the 25th anniversary of the World Federation of Democratic Youth and took the initiative in collecting for New Year presents for children of political prisoners in Greece, Spain and Portugal. However, youth's political convictions are not only formed by acquiring knowledge of political affairs.

The task is far more a matter of combining this work with the organisation of practical international activities for young people. In the last few years the youth organisations of the USSR have sent material aid to Vietnam to the value of many hundred thousands of rubels: medicine, school and sport equipment. The action "Medicine from nature's chemist for the children's hospital in Hanoi" was enthusiastically supported by the Pioneers. Pioneers and school children from many towns and villages collected hundreds of pounds of medicinal herbs, mushrooms and berries, hold sponsored concerts and sent the money to the peace fund.

The enormous capacity for change, which is so characteristic of the ideas of internationalism and peace, is clearly manifested in the socialist nature of the foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet State. "It is directed towards creating favourable external conditions for the construction of communism in our country", said M.A. Suslov in his speech on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the 2nd Congress of the RSDLP, "as well as towards consolidating the fraternal unity of the countries of the socialist community, supporting the working class movement and the national liberation movement and strengthening peace, the safety of all nations and the peaceful coexistence of states with differing social orders."

The strengthening of the fraternal alliance of the countries of the socialist community has been a remarkable achievement. In its attempts to consolidate this alliance the Communist Party has been consequent in exercising a truly international policy by increasingly integrating the socialist countries economically and by ensuring all members have equal rights. This had met with genuine understanding and full-hearted support in the countries of the socialist community."Without the slightest exaggeration", writes Comrade E. Gierek, First Secretary of the C.C. of the Polish United Workers' Party, "we can say that our friendship with the USSR, our fraternal feelings for the Soviet people are now elements in the awareness of our people and in our modern Polish socialist patriotism that we cannot imagine being without. These feelings are firmly established in the minds of Polish workers and we shall continue to develop them."

The implementation of the peace programme drawn up by the 24th Congress of the CPSU is stressed by numerous important facts of foreign policy carried out by the Party and the Soviet State. Amongst these, the visits of the General Secretary of the C.C. of the CPSU, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, to the Federal Republic of Germany, to the U.S.A. and to France rank particularly high, as they are convincing proof of the great success of the policy of peaceful coexistence, an expression of its decisive and increasingly positive influence on the development of international life.

The humanist ideas and the high-minded goals of the peace programme comply with the interests of the Soviet people and the expectations of the whole of progressive mankind. There is no doubt whatsoever that success in the struggle for peace and the international solidarity of all workers will depend to a large extent on the young generation, on its perseverance and creative energy in engineering the most favourable conditions possible for a complete triumph of the ideals of peace and social progress.

SUGATA DASGUPTA (India)

EDUCATION FOR A NON-VIOLENT SOCIETY

I

System maintenance has been the main function of education. It is true that this important social institution has many publicly listed purposes. But its foremost concern has been the perpetuation of a society and the reinforcement of its structure and role. To the extent that such a society has been concerned with the preservation of peace and with the development of the general well being of all its members, education has naturally contributed to the process.

Even a most 'non' doctrinnaire approach to the understanding of society would,however,reveal that the latter's primary function has been different. Its priorities were neither the 'people' nor their 'welfare'. On the contrary until now it has been the creation of an elite ruling class and a pyramidal structure of relationships among its members. Naturally,peace for a few and the perpetuation of a continuous state of peacelessness 1) for others have been the society's main concern. Despite the fact that human civilisation has passed through multifarious stages of evolution, this central ethos has remained unchanged. Bureaucracy, industry, meritocracy, modern science, managerial system, army and such ennobling ideals like democracy, nationalism, peace socialism,and planned development have all contributed to the process.

Education which helps people to accept this system thus in fact also helps the relentless perpetuation of an oppressive social set-up, one that militates against the development of the individual. Exploitation of the masses, the dominance of a minority over the great many and also the concentration of power and profit in a few hands provide its essence. It is not necessary to subscribe to any formal 'ism'

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1) For a fuller treatment of the subject see Sugata Dasgupta "PEACELESSNESS AND MALDEVELOPMENT", published in International Peace Research Association Proceedings, Vol. II: Poverty Development and Peace, Netherland; Koinklijke Van Gorcum and Company, 1968.

"India, as many other countries of Asia, had in fact known of wars before their independence. Yet, the fact remains that the people of the States of the Eastern World have never been in peace . Far from it, poverty, both economic and psychological, predominance of traditional stereotypes of economic and institutional framework to understand this basic exploitative character of the society. Gandhi calls this schema 2) of exploitation 'violence' and finds that the society, both in history as well as in the contemporary period, has always been violent. 'Domination' is its central theme and exploitation of men by men, of women by men, of the weak by the strong, of the age and sex groups by each other , of men by systems and of the systems by men its main ethos. If the society thus represents a linear mode of stratification, education more than wealth provides its main lever. In the ancient society as well as in the modern, in the developing countries as well as i the developed, education has thus always served the interests of an exploitative social class.

II

The roots of such a society can be found everywhere. Histories of all cultures and continents of the world in fact testify that systematic violence is not of recent

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had always made life in this part of the world peaceless; 'nasty, brutish and short'. Although the wars were infrequent in the East, there was at the same time no peace at all for the vast masses of its people. The nearest definition of the state of life from which they suffered could only be described by the new term, I choose to use namely, the concept of "Peacelessness". The horrors of life and the dimensions of peacelessness in a country where average per capita expenditure for quite a large section of population is six annas a day (1/20 of a dollar) can hardly be imagined.

2) For a fuller treatment of the theme see Sugata Dasguta's THE REAL THEME: The Seminar (October 1969) New Delhi, and FOR THE PACIFISTS by M.K. Gandhi (The Introduction) Edited by Bharatan Kumarappa (The Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad).

origin but has existed all throughout the ages. Yet nowhere has it probably been so evident, so early in the day, as in India in the evolution of an extremely well-developed and sophisticated elite framework. The establishment of a Brahminical order in India provides the beginning in recorded history of that early exploitative society of pyramidal shape 3). An Italian traveller reporting his experiences in an Indian village a few years ago provides the proof. He writes that he had met a Brahmin 'Pandit' in an Indian village. "What is a Solar Eclipse?"the traveller had asked the Pandit. The Brahmin gave him a scientific explanation, one that the traveller has recorded and still remains valid and authentic as of this day. But something interesting happened thereafter. A layman , a worker, a black untouchable came to the Pandit and put him the very same question "Pray, tell me what is a Solar Eclipse". The reply was ready, "A demon called Rahu" said the Pandit "eats up the Sun God". As the man lefts, contended with the answer , the bewildered traveller enquired of the Brahmin, which of the two theories he propounded was true and why he had a different theory for each of them. The Pandit replied without any hesitation. "The one that I have given you is the real explanation; the other is not. Knowledge is not for all,and that is why there is a different theory for the common man".

In ancient India, when a woman or an untouchable had dared to read the "Vedas" 4) the punishment was severe. It was to 'pour' melted metal in their ears. Only a few, the Brahmin by caste, were to hold the key to knowledge : no others were entitled to it. For knowledge was power and so was the knowledgeable, the Brahmin, who was even to control the king and the state. If the rational of society in ancient India was thus provided by the Brahminic mould, the same holds good even today all over the world.

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3) Vide:"Caste Class and Occupation" by G.S.Ghurye - Popular Book Depot, Bombay 7, Chapters III & IV for a fuller understanding of the significance, structure and function of Caste system which provides the mould of the Brahminical order. The Brahmin as a hereditary self perpetuating group was at the apex of the society and 'Sudra' at the base. The Brahmin is the ruler who, according to Manu, the law giver'is the lord of the whole creation' (page 88) 'The whole world is his property . As compared to this the Sudra is a non-person in society. According to Kautilya 'A Sudra calling himself a Brahmin shall have his eyes destroyed by poison. If he defiles a Brahmin woman he shall be burnt to death (page 90)."

4) The early Aryan religious book of verses providing the terms of reference of Hindu religion.

Education in the Third World is thus used not only as an exercise in pyramid climbing but for raising the class 'stature' of all those who belong to the lower rungs. They take to education in search of prestigious jobs and for entry to emerge ,'elite' subsystems comprising the upper 'class caste' strata of the respective countries 5). The school has, thus, at once been a ladder for social mobility and for social desintegration. All in all, education has been a disquieting experience,often leading to the creation of a 'neo-colonial' class of decision-makers in the Third World. Thanks to education, politics and money they thus succeeded in stepping into the positions of the former rulers 6) who had been forced to give up their colonies, for the reasons that are repeated again.

Not that these facts are not known. Even so their full implications are often forgotten. This is due to a growing feeling that the results of education listed above are really the products of underdevelopment and not so much of the system of education. The contention is that the disabilities will disappear in course of time as the standard of living of the Third World rises. How fallacious the assumption is will be clear to all those who care to look at the countries and regions where development is taking place in rapid strides. It has, in fact, been the finding of the 'development decade' that throughout the Third World the gains of growth have been eaten up by a few and that the two reasons for this great human catastrophe are provided by the type of technology and the pattern of education that development needs. The role of education has thus been no more glorious in developing societies than in the poor countries.

It is a well known fact that these nations live in two cultures - one of the developed elite; the other of the so-called underdeveloped masses. One is educated in the formal sense of the term;the other is not. Consequently,there is often very little communication between the two and very little communication of interests. The developing nations are in fact facing serious internal crises today as the two groups stand poised for a bitter show down. Education has indeed been dysfunctional to development, dysfunctional to the growth of an equitable society and dysfunctional to the emergence of a peaceful order.

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5) As an award the Indian Penal code provides a higher and more comfortable class of custody for a convict with a B.A. degree.

6) For a fuller treatment of the theme see Guy Hunter's "Modernising Peasant Societies" O.U.P. pages 24o - 259 the chapter on education.

III

If this is the situation in the developing countries, it will be wrong to think that the developed societies do not follow a similar pattern. In Great Britain, for example, education still helps to tilt the balance in favor of an elite society. Only 16% of the people go for higher education, and out of these 80% come from the non-working classes 7). Universal literacy was similarly introduced in Great Britain to serve the interests of the rich elite. It came first in the factory where the worker was to be made literate in order to ensure that the writ of management could reach all the workers quickly through wall posters and notices. Universal literacy, unlike universal suffrage, thus came to Britain primarily for stepping up production and not so much for the purpose of enlightenment. The main function of education, even in that early day, was thus to help serve the interests of the capitalist producer who owned the industry (even now one per cent of people in Great Britain controls 45 per cent of capital).Naturally the plans for universal education, of which literacy provides the base, were never taken up seriously in the U.K. Although 98% of people in Great Britain are thus formally declared as literate, 80% of them can only read banner headlines.

British society, consequently, still comprises several classes of people who are the products of different school systems e.g.Public Schools, Grammar Schools, Comprehensive Schools, etc. Since 77% of people in Great Britain give up education at the age of 18, the handful of those who go to the universities certainly form a separate coterie. They occupy prestigious positions, wield power as decision-makers and determine the destiny of the masses, not so well educated or knowledgeable. As with developing societies so with the developed: it is the handful of the educated that wield the real power everywhere. I will explain what I mean.

There was a time when the feudal lords and the army ruled all lands. Then, with the rise of capitalism, the businessmen came to occupy positions of real power. Gradually the emphasis changes and as technological society rises from the ashes of its predecessor, new power groups come to the forefront. A technological society requires an army of trained manpower and specialists of various types to run it smoothly. Those who have had the benefit not only of higher education but also of specialised knowledge and skills then became all powerful. A Kissinger is thus important in the White House, not only because he is an intellectual himself but because he can influence a large number of others in favor of State action. Many of

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7) Vide: Urban Studies (U.K.) Volume 6 No.3, Nov. 1969 Trends of Urban Change: Oliver & Boyd Ltd. and Rudolf Kin on "Education" in Observer 29th March 1970.

the 3500 8) full professors in Italy acclaimed as 'barons of the lecture halls' still control the Italian Parliament in their respective fields of interest . It is the intellectual elite at New Delhi especially the economists of a particular school, who, together with the professional politician hold the real key to power in India. Prime Ministers in all countries have thus increasingly to depend on the intellectuals of their choice in matters of policy - making and government. Since specialised knowledge is so crucial today - it is the knowledgeable and especially all those who are coopted in administration that wield the real power in the world.

IV

Monopoly of knowledge - a monopoly that apparently seems so harmless - is thus as dangerous as the much-decried monopoly of wealth and rank. What is worse is that a small coterie of people who hold this monopoly know well that they owe all their power to the specialised knowledge they claim to possess. Accordingly, one makes every effort to preserve the prerogative. As mass-education programs develop , especially in welfare states and communist countries, and the special status of the 'knowledge' monopolists seem to be threatened, the efforts for self-preservation become all the more pathetic. This is revealed by the development of extreme forms of specialisation in every branch of knowledge, be it social sciences, literature, or painting. The purpose is to make any explanation unintelligible and make the common man the 'Sudra' of the day. Development of ridiculous jargons by twists of languages otherwise simple provides the device for it. Poems, short stories, and paintings also similarly assume forms and structures that become more and more abstract. This obscurantist development of knowledge is a conscious attempt to retain a monopoly that helps the perpetuation of inequality, inequity and violence in social structure.

Simultaneously the practice spreads 'uneducation'. All those who are well educated by all known standards but have no specialised knowledge of any discipline are now declared 'uneducated'. Naturally the new 'uneducated', ignorant of the complexities of the specialised branches of knowledge, are not to be trusted with any decision-making role in production, politics and society. They have therefore to conform to the 'ruling' of the coterie. Norms, mores, rules, ways of social living are thus all tailored by the leaders of the society who keep their'mantras' 9) and the 'formulae' as hidden preserves. While this happens, extreme forms of specialization naturally keep its recipients confined to grooves. The narrow limits of their knowledge lead to a blunting of natural intelligence. It damages intuitive capacities and curbs rational faculties. Education is therefore destructive in two ways. It destroys

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8) Vide: Herald Tribune (International) Saturday-Sunday

those whom it is denied, it destroys those whom it reaches.

V

The dysfunctionality of such a system is clear today. It has indeed led to considerable rethinking about education. One idea has been a call for linking education to employment. The concept keeps a two-fold function of education in view. First of all such a view of "education" declares all those who are "uneducated" as unemployable (Vide the recent call of the Sweepers' and Scavangers' Union of New York Municipality not to allow any person to be recruited as a sweeper unless he possesses a school leaving certificate and the decision of the Tagore University Santiniketan,taken sometimes back not to allow anyone to take a course in painting unless he has a similar certificate), and consequently creates a vast number of unemployed. The other prescribes that the educated must have the first claim on employment, that is, a preference over all those who do not belong to the "caste" of the "educated". But such a philosophy is self-defeating; the point of destruction is reached when the rank of all those who seek education swells and education, because of the huge explosion, fails to offer employment even to those who are "educated".

This formula of linking education to employment and its natural failure to produce results has led to serious violence on the campus. The increasing volume of educational explosion has however made it evident that education can no longer be the sole criterion for employment. It is also clear that providing employment to all those who are not educated or are half-educated, in the technical sense of the term, will have to receive as much priority.

The students, the clients of education, have thus, due to its lamentable failure, become totally disillusioned with the system itself. Agitating for a thorough change in the scheme of things which vests all control and 'power' only in a few and doles out some 'jobs' to others, the students of the West are now on warpath. In the Third World, as in India for example, the students who go for higher education have likewise reacted adversely to the system. Discovering that education can no longer offer security,they seem to have decided to ignore it altogether, . Their chief concern now is for political power which alone, they think,can provide recognition and affluence to them and strengthen their position in the elite framework. All in all, the system that education maintains, the consequences that it leads to,spills much blood and leads to much violence. Such an endeavour can verily be called 'education for violence' - using the term violence both in its literal sense as also in the man-

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November 4-5. 1972 Paris Ed. Claire Sterling Writes From Rome (page 8).

9) An Indian word denoting sacred key verse, an aid to worship,whose meaning are known only to the priest.

ner in which Gandhi used it.

As the aspirations of the masses develop through extension of universal education, as the coterie of the knowledgeable close their ranks, as the rising level of general education delinks itself from employment, as the class barriers between the 'educated-privileged' and the 'under-educated - underprivileged' increase, the situation is bound to become worse confounded. Marx had opined that the final struggle for liberation will be a fight between the economic classes. It is easy, however, to perceive that in the changed situation the real struggle in India, if not in the Third World as a whole, is going to be between the 'educated employed', unproductive people on one hand and the vast number of self-employed, productive 'small' producers on the other. The recent innovations in the name of socialism, nationalisation, and the development of state capitalism are nothing but endeavours in the same direction. They are the devices to ensure that the educated, unproductive, employed intellectual class control all the capital that finances production and generates employment. If these efforts succeed, the results will be disastrous. For that will not only increase the quantum of systemic violence but may well lead to a breakdown of the structure.

If education has thus been a product of an elitist mode of society and has led in turn to further elitism, inequity and violence only drastic remedies could help the situation. What shall we do, then? Start again from the beginning or go forward to reach a new highway ? A review of the total process is at least necessary so that a scheme of restructurisation of the contents, forms, and functions of education can emerge clearly.

VI

The question is 'how?' How are we going to formulate a new educational policy and what will be its aims and objectives ? If the answer is to be derived from the foregoing analysis the aim of education should be system 'building' rather than system 'maintenance'. It should lead to a non-elitist society and to what Gandhi calls a non-violent order. Education must in effect lead to the uplifting of the downtrodden , to defusion of power and its deconcentration as well to the evolution of a culture of non-accumulation and equity. The present mode of education, which we wish to reject here and now, serves the purpose of a particular society. That society is based on competition, conflict, exploitation, overorganization, greed, power, and profit. To the extent the welfare societies of the West and the Communist societies of the Eastern Europe have tried to obtain basic comforts for as many of their citizens as possible they have certainly helped to blunt the edges of the system. But neither of these societies have tended to curb the monopolies of power at any time in human history. Do we want such a society any longer? The profile of the new system of education can only be clear when we are able to draw a picture of the alternative. While we shall have an occasion to return to this subject of profiles and pictures later some of the specific steps which may help in the step by step restructurisation of the educational system are enumerated below.

Education must make a vigorous effort to uplift the poor and to abolish all monopolies and privileges. Gandhi had sought to achieve this end by ensuring that all the curricula of education provide for productive manual labour and other activities rather than the mere scanning of books. The aim was to pull down the classes - the conscious non-productive, book-oriented, employed, intellectual to the level of the productive, self-employed, small producer. Gandhi accordingly wanted the elite to soil their hands and break the barriers that separate them from the masses. The purpose was to 'declass' the elite as well as to make every consumer a producer.No one in such a society was to remain a parasite exploiter thriving on his neighbor's labor. The other aim - the main aim of the Gandhian schema - was, however, the development of a non-elitist, non-explcitative, non-violent social order. That aim still remains valid and should provide the objectives of peace education in all modern societies of our day.The plans for reconstruction provided by Gandhi will, however, need to be further strengthened in the light of the growing power of education and its all embracing dysfunctionality that we have described before. Some fundamental steps of far-reaching significance are therefore necessary to implement the Gandhian schema as well as the goals for new education described earlier.

A non-elitist society would obviously require an equitable mode of education. What is important in this regard is not to confuse 'equality' with 'equity'. 'Equal opportunities for all' is thus no longer a valid slogan. For equality of opportunities offered to 'unequal' individuals cannot and have not in the past led to equitable results. What is needed in this context is a definitive recognition that there exist specific classes, castes and groups in the society who have reached unequal standards of growth and who enjoy privileges of different orders.Conscious efforts should therefore be made to bring these various groups up to the same level of educational accomplishment. It would accordingly require that certain special advantages are given to the backward,and these are of a revolutionary order. In India, this would require among others a special medium of instruction for different sub-cultural groups and exposure to different school systems. India has sixteen main languages spoken by about 80% of its people. They are the people who, having been educated through the medium of English, are now developing their mother tongues known as'regional' languages - the respective mother tongues of 80% of the people along with the provision that a foreign language be taught to all those who go for higher education. The 'elite' among the elites of the society will thus alone have the benefit of the latter.

There are about 2o% of people in India 1o) who, however, do not as yet speak any of the regional languages. Neither do they know a foreign language nor have they been able to reconstruct their dialects into well-developed languages. In general they belong to the peripheral structure of the Indian society. Lying in border areas, the inaccessible hills, desert tracts and forests, they do not belong to the mainstream of culture, power and the decision-making process of the land. It is held that they too should be educated through the regional languages of the areas. Although they are not the languages of the peripheral groups, an overwhelming majority of the people of the area, where these groups live, speak those languages. Borrowed, in fact, from the literature of a sophisticated coterie, the languages are of those who have already reached a more advanced level of development and represent the dominant culture of the area. The peripheral groups belong to different subcultures and speak different dialects. It is insisted, that both the groups, those who speak the regional language and those who do not, should learn through a common medium, are provided in the name of 'equality of opportunities'. But will such equality lead to equity or turn the 'peripheral groups' into mere second class citizens of the area? While the groups that have developed languages would do well to learn through their mother tongues, the peripheral population, the remaining 2o% of Indians, should be given opportunities to learn through any medium they choose, especially English, a foreign language that still opens up a vast vista of opportunities and privileges to its recipients. It is obvious that such a special privilege granted to the underdog will go a long way to over-turn the pyramidal structure of society upside down. The recent experiments in China to teach the masses a foreign language, English in this case, and that of Rumania where learning of two foreign languages is now compulsory for all, is a definite measure in this direction, calculated to bring real equality to all sections of their populations. The example is worth emulating in India. The tribals, the Harijans 11), the poor, the backword, the downtrodden should therefore be given the special privilege of learning through the medium of a foreign language, whereas all others may learn through their own mother tongues of which they are justly proud. That would give an additional advantage to the weaker sections over all those who already have had greater opportunities and occupy a more advantageous position in the mainstream of a competitive society.

A similar effort should be made to give special opportunities

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1o) Calculated from Indian Census report 1971 which says 8 per cent of the India's population does not speak her sixteen major languages.

11) 'Harijan' is a new word coined by Gandhi for the untouchables. It literally means Gods own men.

to the non-meritorious - the students who are the rejects of the existing educational system and fail to reach a standard. Others, who score high in terms of academic accomplishments, are entitled to go to better colleges in order to be tutored by better teachers. In the new mode of education, one that has to guarantee an equitable opportunity to all sections of the population, the reverse shall be the case. The poorer the merit of the student,the higher should be the level of the teacher called upon to attend to him. Conversly the lower the standard of the tutor, the higher could be the level of the student. For one who is meritorious and is already advanced does not surely need much of guidance as compared to those who are naturally backword. Such a policy will,however,require a completely different set of indicators for the evaluation of educational programmes.A measurement of the success of the educational policy should thus under the new scheme be judged not by the number of students that go to school but by the social background of those who are allowed to benefit from educational inputs. A system will thus be reckoned as more successful only when a larger number of students, born in the lower strata, take their seats in the class rooms and when the non-meritorious and all those who belong to the periphery occupy same places of pride along with the advantaged, the sons of the 'mainstream' culture of the country.

VII

Education must, in the changed context, be decidedly disconnected from employment.While the latter should be a function of the total system and of specialized 'vocational' and professional institutions every employer could devise his own criteria for recruitment and hold examinations accordingly. Education would then aim at the enlightenment of the recipient's mind and be value oriented. Its task will not be to turn out managers, administrators and mechanical hands as the main products of an educational pressure cooker but to ensure that the virtues that create a coterie of academic, managerial and administrative elite reach the mass of the people and become universal in their projection. That will mean that education should provide to every one the wherewithall to obtain attitudinal growth and intellectual maturity. It is not the contention of this paper that education should be dysfunctional to employment or to academic, managerial and administrative developments. The aim of the educated should on the other hand be to create employment opportunities not only for the recipient but for others as well. The purpose is to ensure that every country should first have a high level of average education for all, before it seeks to develop special elite moulds.

The real purpose of education is to create the culture of the new society, and to give to all its members enough education to live up to it.Such culture would emphasize harmony, spirit of service, sharing and non-violence, rather than competition, exploitation and violence. It should try to build a new typology of institutions, develope technologies and experiment with 'sizes' of industries that do not lead to aggrandizement and exploitation. Education should accordingly reorient people to consciously endeavour for the establishment of a non-domineering, non-competitive society, and likewise for the rejection of the existing order.

Seventy per cent of the people of the world lie submerged in poverty today. The efforts now in vogue in every country aim to raise the standards of living and to defeat all others' in the race for affluence. While relative rates of growth provide interesting criteria of development, it should now be evident that the world as a whole will never be able to revel in affluence and that an increase of productivity in one part of the globe must account for a corresponding fall somewhere else. It is therefore not possible to reach the high standard of living enjoyed by some people in the northern world on a global basis. Peace in the world or a non-violent equitable society can only be built by a thin dispersal of the world's resources and on the basis of a limited standard of living.

Education should prepare people to accept that reality. It should enable them to see in the future of the world a place where one lives at a 'near' poverty standard and does not aspire to the impossible. A zero rate of growth and an agricultural society, where production and not only consumption is everybody's responsibility is to be the mainstay of that system. There, prices and wages do not chase each other; there,development takes place without growth by merely removing in its stride the basic obstacles to the conduct of a healthy social life. Such a system, non-acquisitive and non-elitist,is ruled by consensus and not by dictatorships,either of the majority or of the meritorious oligarchies.As centralized large scale monoliths collapse in that milieu and a stable social and economic life emerges, the new system of education will help to remove the last vestages of violence by its roots.

As we have given above the outlines of the new society, two more observations will be necessary before we end. First of all, it is to be clearly understood that the increasing volume of educational explosion is going to change not only the functions of the system but also its structures and forms. Even today there is only one seat available for every eleven student that are admitted to colleges in Italy 12) - a country that spends 2o% of its budget on education.

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12) Vide Herald Tribune (International) Saturday-Sunday November 4-5, 1972 Paris Ed. Claire Sterling Writes From Rome (page 8).

In India, which spends only 3% of its budget on the subject, no institutional structure, however carefully devised, will ever be able to cope with the rising demand for schooling in the coming decade. The pressure will then act in the reverse gear. It will demolish standards, introduce strikes and lock-outs, preceipitate violence and create catastrophes of different dimensions. Education, in the new set-up, will therefore have to be transmitted through written and the spoken words , through correspondence and the mass media to every home in that society.

The home, the cottage of every family, should then be the real centre for education with the parents playing the main role of the teacher. The new curriculum will naturally have to be enriched by drawing from the books of life and also from organized community programmes of different description such as manual labour, social services and specific developmental activities. The guardian at home, now assuming the role of the teacher,will also help to develop a new form of relationship in the modern home of the atomised society. The design for such a schema of cottage education will have to be made with care. It is needless to say that the state will also have to play an important role in enriching the contents and methods of the new system. Yet education in the new set up will mainly be a private enterprise, As the responsibilities of the state grow and the public sector of economic enterprises expand,this new private sector of cottage education will help in more than one way. It will save democracy. It will kindle the flames of freedom. In nations where the state controls most of the individual's life and business, the mind will now be free. It will be rescued from subservience to any overpowering system and allowed to function in a new haven of freedom.

ELISE BOULDING (USA)

THE CHILD AND NON-VIOLENT SOCIAL CHANGE

Any design for a non-violent world must take special account of what happens to children, and what they are prepared for. Since in any case they are shapers of the future, we cannot avoid an examination of the nature of the child and the impact of various socialization experiences on her capacity to act non-violently on a changing social order.

The socialization model developed here draws on several different disciplinary frameworks and research areas that have not been brought together before in just this way. Included are (1) animal and human ethology, with emphasis on both genetic and developmental aspects of animal-man potentials; (2) a variety of social learning theories; (3) a delineation of the social spaces within which the individual receives her social shaping and acts out the roles she takes for her own; and finally (4) a review of studies on altruism and non-violent activists in recent protest movements.

The Situation of the Child in Today's World

The bind that children are in - and they recognize that they are in it, to an extent that would astound most adults - is that they know they are being trained for role performance to maintain the society in which they are growing up and they realize that adults somehow expect them to make a system work that the adults themselves have had great difficulty with. They are to pull off this miracle after having lived a childhood segregated from the system. To further compound the difficulty they are in, all the training they receive in society's nurseries is for performance on yesterday's patterns - all socialization is for the past - while the social rhetoric to which they are exposed is couched in terms of "far-reaching social change". How do children deal with these dilemmas?

The rhetoric of rapid change which is such an all-pervasive part of the child's environment has, like all social rhetoric, a sharply uncomfortable empirical referent the words cannot obscure - though they try. Children really do need socialization for the role of change agents. It is to society's interest to prepare its new members for non-destructive change behaviours, since this enables necessary and inevitable change to take place with a minimum of hurt to the society and its individual members. When no provision for the development of innovative role-taking is made, then the stage is set for a necessary resort to violence to disrupt and destroy inflexible structures. Are there, in our sharply age-graded socialization process, any experiences available to children which can trigger perceptions of the possibility of creative change instead of defensiveness or aggression in situations where old behavoirs are inadequate?

An even more basic question is, can a healthy normal human being respond non-agressively to situations of tension and rapid change, or are aggressive tendencies so powerful in human beings that there is no socialization process that can effectively rechannel them without doing harm to the human temperament? Can drastic social change only be brought about by violence? For a few decades the doctrine of the infinite malleability of the human infant has held away, and social theories of learning have blossomed in this period. Now we are back, however to historically recurring ideas about the killer instinct in man, the "Cain-tendency" as in Szondi (1969) and Ardrey (1962). In the eighteenth century Rousseau championed the doctrine of the natural good in human nature against the Hobbesian view of man as beast. At the turn of the twentieth century it was Kropotkin who championed the good (1903) against Thomas Huxley (1888). Once again today the capacity for human goodness has a champion (Eibl-Eibesfeld, 1972) to face the supporter of the man-as-beast view (Ardrey, 1962).

Eibl-Eibesfeldt suggests that there are innate bonding drives which counterbalance innate aggressive tendencies, and that careful attention to both sets of drives will enable humans to use their genetic resources to the maximum on behalf of social order. As a human ethologist he utilizes human societies for his research, rather than generalizing from animals as is usually done.

Marshalling photographic evidence from a wide variety of geographic and cultural settings from tribal pre-literate to urban western, he makes a serious case for pre-programmed behavior that is set in motion by innate releasing mechanisms in specific stimulus situations, independent of social learning. While these can be culturally modified or repressed, the transcultural similarity of greeting, nurturant and protective gestures of adults toward children and towards one another in situations that call for this behavior, and of threat gestures in hostile situations, points to a behavioral repertoire of inherited coordinations. The presence of such inherited coordinations is clearly significant for the learning of social behaviors. It means that in given situations some behaviors will be more easily learned than others.

Since the term "behavioral programming" lends itself to an excessively mechanistic interpretation, I will use the term "predisposition to learn" as the operational equivalent of behavioral programming. An understanding of the stimuli which will release bonding behavior in a threat situation could be of great importance in trying to understand the potentials for training for non-violent behavior. The innate discharge controls releasing aggressive or bonding behavior have through phylogenetic adaptation in humans been reduced to secondary status, but the drives themselves remain intact, Eibl-Eibesfeldt suggests (1972:32). The enormous gain in adaptability in this replacement of innate controls by cultural ones is clear. The Eskimo needs different arrangements for diversion of aggressive or sex impulses than a Masai or urbanite, and rigid innate patterns would be of little use to her. The fact that any kind of response structure at all exists, however indeterminate, is significant both for learning theory and for socialization, however.

Ingredients for a Socialization Model

In our search for a descriptive model of socialization that will throw light on how some children come to perceive themselves as creators of alternative futures, and can remain unthreatened and non-violent in the face of changes and tensions that bring out aggression or withdrawal in others, we will look at a variety of inputs to the socialization process. The genetic resources for behavioral response will be given substantial attention, because our knowledge of developmental and learning processes is only useful to the extent that we are aware of the genetic substrate of these processes. The social spaces and the socializing agents in a child's life will also be given particular attention.

Figure 1 shows schematically eight sets of inputs to the socialization process chosen for their relevance to our problem, grouped according to whether they are internal or external to the child. The internal factors are (1) the genetic substrate, (2) developmental and maturational processes, (3) learning processes, (4) accumulating knowledge stock, and (5) accumulating social skill stock. The external factors are (6) cultural requirements, (7) socializing agents, and (8) situational and event spaces. We will explore the nature of the interplay between these factors.

I suggest that the life experience of persons committed to a belief in and action on behalf of non-violent social change includes the following features:

1) optimal opportunities as a child for development of emotional, cognitive and intuitive capacities in home, school and community, in settings that allow for maximum expression of a wide range of innate behavioral repertoires;

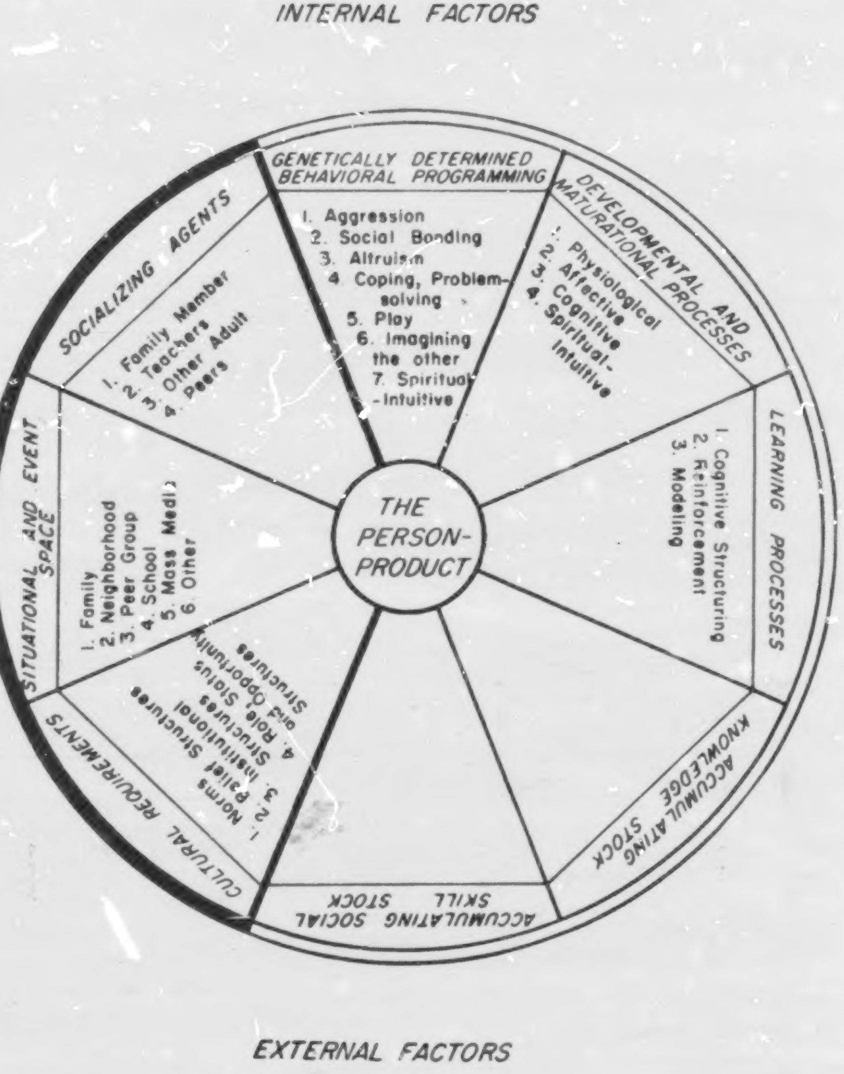
INTERNAL FACTORS
GENETICALLY DETERMINED BEHAVIORAL PROGRAMMING
1. Aggression
2. Social Bonding
3. Altruism
4. Coping, Problem-solving
5. Play
6. Imagining the other
7. Spiritual-Intuitive
DEVELOPMENTAL AND MATURATIONAL PROCESSES
1. Physiological
2. Affective
3. Cognitive
4. Spiritual-Intuitive
LEARNING PROCESSES
1. Cognitive Structuring
2. Reinforcement
3. Modeling
ACCUMULATING KNOWLEDGE STOCK
ACCUMULATING SOCIAL SKILL STOCK
CULTURAL REQUIREMENTS
1. Norms
2. Belief Structures
3. Institutional Structures
4. Role, Status and Opportunity Structures
SITUATIONAL AND EVENT SPACE
1. Family
2. Neighborhood
3. Peer Group
4. School
5. Mass Media
6. Other
SOCIALIZING AGENTS
1. Family Member
2. Teachers
3. Other Adult
4. Peers
THE PERSON-PRODUCT
EXTERNAL FACTORS

Figure 1. Inputs to the Socialization Process

2) substantial exposure to events in the larger society, and the knowledge stock of that society;

3) substantial exposure to a variety of adult and peer role models in different kinds of social settings;

4) opportunities to play out a number of different social roles in childhood and adolescence, and to deal actively with problem-solving situations; and

5) experiences of rewarding social feedback in the playing out of roles and solving problems.

We will now examine each of the factors proposed for the socialization model, beginning with the genetic component.

The Phylogenetic Substrate of Behavior

One unifying theme in a great diversity of literature on personality characteristics of leaders, activists and change agents, is that of the presence in these individuals of basic feelings of optimism, competence and self-esteem. Change-agent roles are selected by persons who feel they can effectively act on society to change it for the better. Non-violent activists, while often alienated from the society they are in, display a capacity for social trust which is sometimes very marked (Escalona, 1968:25-29). These feelings may be established in the neonate, in part determined by the genetically given neural thresholds of the infant. The high neural threshold infant can take a lot of brusk handling and bumps without any discomfort, while the low neutral threshold infant may feel pain from even gentle handling. This presence or absence of physical discomfort at being touched is independent of the handling parent's felt and expressed tenderness.

Beyond this generalized responsivity to the environment, there are according to Eibl-Eibesfeldt (1972) a variety of phylogenetic adaptations which take the form of pre-programmed response capacity for a variety of situations. While this theory is bound to be controversial, it seems too promising to be ignored in the light of the present controversy about the degree to which children can be socialized to non-violence. Using his work as a point of departure, I am suggesting seven areas in which there may be behavioral programs, or predispositions to learn, for the human being that provide the basis for response repertoires in situations of tension and change.[x] These areas are (1) aggression, (2) social bonding, (3) altruism, (4) coping, problem-solving, (5) play, (6) creation of the other, and (7) spiritual bonding.

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[x] There is no attempt there to suggest what the full range of behavioral programs might be. We are here discussing only those relevant to our topic.

I will provide a definition of each behavioral area, and indicate research that relates to the possibility of some type of behavioral predispositions. The material which follows is intended mainly to be suggestive and to provide a basis for some new ways of thinking about socialization.

Aggression. Human aggression, the stumbling block on which so many theories of human betterment fall, has been defined by Feshbach (1970:161) as "any behavioral sequence or subset thereof, which results in injury to or destruction of an animal, human, or inanimate object." Aggression has been difficult to use as an analytic concept because it has been treated as a catch-all phenomenon covering a very wide range of behaviors. Corning (1972) draws attention to Moyer's work of separating out eight functionally different types of behavior, each differentiated by the stimulus configurations that trigger them (Moyer, 1971). Although hard evidence for the existence of specific neural and endocrinal substrates for each class of aggression is still rudimentary, there is relevant research on humans as well as animals (Moyer, 1969). The most important thing is the classification scheme itself, which provides an entirely new way to think about aggression. The thinking of Moyer and Corning also converges in a remarkable way with that of Eibl-Eibesfeldt. Each sees the neural and biochemical mechanisms as a product of phylogenetic adaptations in the evolutionary process, and each emphasizes that the actual behaviors are "partially programmed by the indivudal's interaction with his social and ecological environment (Corning, 1972:7)." The proposed types of aggression, classified by the triggering stimulus-configurations, are predatory, inter-male[x], fear induced, irritable, territorial,maternal, instrumental and sex-related. These are not all mutually exclusive; territorial and inter-male aggression, for example, may overlap.

The Corning-review of aggression studies makes it clear that aggression is not spontaneous or pleasure-seeking, as it is often described to be. Eibl-Eibesfeldt points out that there is no evidence of any vertebrate forming a bond with a conspecific primarily and exclusively via aggression. The innate inhibition against the pursuit of aggression to the point of killing, widely noted in the animal world, exists in the human in the impulse to pity. This impulse is of course subject to social programming, and in fact became progressively more useless as an inhibitory device with the invention of weapons that killed at a distance (Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 1972: 98-102). The history of the failure of this inhibition to serve humankind in conflict dates back to the invention of the first prehistoric flint hand-ax.

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[x] Having recently been the horrified witness of (and intervener in) an attempt by one woman to kill another in a hotel corridor, I would add inter-female here.

While the failure of inhibitory responses in group conflict is a serious matter, the understanding of aggression as a series of highly differentiated, situation-specific responses allows much more scope for social reprogramming, or socialization. Furthermore, aggressive response patterns must be considered in the broader context of the whole repertoire of response patterns, including bonding responses, which will be discussed next.

Social Bonding. Using Eibl-Eibesfeldt's work as a point of departure, I will define social bonding as the development of reciprocal expectations of sympathy and supportive, nurturant and aiding behavior between two or more individuals through ritual and non-ritual acts of recognition, affection and nurturance. Eibl-Eibesfeldt suggests that the mother-infant's behavior is clearly genetically programmed as is the mother's nurturant response. The infant sucking at its mother's breast has its fists tightly closed, a reminder that among our primate ancestors babies had to hold on to mother's coat for survival.

> Man is by nature a parent-clinger, "Elternhocker" as Wolfgang Wickler (1969) calls it. We are not only programmed to these conditions by numerous behavior patterns, we are also equipped with appetitive behavior for restoring contact - to begin with by crying out and later through active seeking. Our drive activities of clinging and snuggling are adapted to the mother as object. It is this appetitive behavior for contact that is the true root of the bond between mother and child (Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 1972:212-13).

All spontaneous adult gestures of greeting, reaching out with the hands to help another, or comforting another, and of fleeing to another for protection, as well as sexual caresses, all derive from the infant's clutching and the adult's nurturant response. In spite of the heavy cultural overlay of bonding behavior among adults, the spontaneous gestures of nurturing and seeking nurture are startingly similar in all societies, as Eibl-Eibesfeldt's photographic research demonstrates.

Research on the determinants of reciprocating beneficent behavior on the part of another (Goranson and Berkowitz, 1966; Brehm and Cole, 1966; Schopler, 1970) indicates that activities such as food-sharing are much more likely to take place in a context where the food donor has previously been the recipient of a clearly voluntary act of beneficence from his partner. As soon as compulsion or constraint enters the picture, reciprocated sharing is reduced. While this is hardly evidence for a genetic basis for nurturance, it is suggestive. Eibl-Eibesfeldt suggests that the adequate development of these bonding capacities depends very much on the character of the environmental influences in the earliest stages of ontogenetic development.

> In man's development there are sensitive periods in which certain basic ethical and aesthetic attitudes become fixated as in imprinting, as for example "primitive trust" (Urvertrauer). If such a period is allowed to pass unfulfilled, then this can lead to lasting damage (Eibl-Eibesfeld, 1972:27).

Socialization theory has worked hard to free us from excessively deterministic views about the role of early experience in later development. This notion of fixation of attitudes at a critical period should not be taken too seriously, but may be taken as one of the ingredients in the early socialization process that may have to be dealt with again in later stages of adult life.
In any case, the bonding experiences of infancy, and the parenting experience in adulthood, may be considered as very valuable resources in meeting unfamiliar and stressful situations.

One of the least likely candidates for pre-programmed behavior is altruism, yet precisely because of its unlikelihood and its relationship to social bonding, it is challenging to examine this type of behavior for possible pre-programmed dispositons.

Altruism. A distillation of work by E. Midlarsky (1968) and Justin Aronfreed (1970) on aiding responses and altruism suggests the following definition of altruism: A subset of bonding behavior oriented towards desired outcomes for another with minimal or no expectations of reciprocity; the behavior is undertaken at some cost to the initiator, with little or no gain relative to the magnitude of the investment. The prototype of aiding behavior undertaken at some cost to the self is parenting, on both the human and the animal world. The presence of this kind of aiding response in all cultures points to a stimulus-specific predisposition. Lois Murphy (1937) established some decades ago that children under four react sympathetically to the stress of others, and Chester Pierce (1972) has observed in a recent publication how nursery school teachers thwart spontaneously helpful behavior among children by stepping in to replace child helping behavior by adult helping behavior. Empathy is a necessary but not sufficient condition of altruism, since it may or may not lead to distress-alleviating behavior (Aronfreed, 197o).

Another important resource, to be discussed next is the predisposition to explore and cope with the unusual.

Coping and Problem-Solving. Exploratory problem-solving responses to unfamiliar situations, and coping behavior in the face of difficulty or stress, as opposed to freezing up in the face of the unfamiliar and threatening, are contrasting responses that have long interested social psychologists. M. Brewster Smith describes the competent self as a self which

> ... is perceived as causally important, as effective in the world - which is to a major extent a world of other people - as likely to be able to bring about desired effects, and as accepting responsibility when effects do not correspond to desire (Smith, 1968:281).

Competence is accompanied by feelings of self-esteem and optimism, and an "array of knowledge, habits, skills and abilities that are required to translate hopeful expectations and active orientations into effective behavior (Smith,1968: 282)."

Can one conceive of a genetically-based predisposition to engage in coping behavior? Piaget, watching the young infant "construct" his world through his early sensory-motor explorations, evolving behavioral schemas which

> ... are pre-symbolic action-patterns, the achievement of which involves mastery of the instrumental resources of the body and stabilization of a world of objects as two sides of the same coin (Smith, 1968:293),

would say yes. Kavanau's mice, who consistently prefer altering their environment to leaving it in the experimentally arranged state, whenever the choice exists, and who choose the harder tasks in their little mouse world rather than the easier ones, also seem to say yes (Smith, 1968:292). [x]

In fact the drive to engage in exploratory behavior for its own sake and to do things competently is a human trait frequently commented on by sociologists, psychologists and economists alike. This is one of Thomas' four wishes (1961: 741-744), and it is also Veblen's instinct of workmanship (1918). It would be extremely difficult to determine stimulus-specific neuro-chemical substrates for varieties of coping behavior, and yet perhaps no more difficult than for bonding behavior or aggression.

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x These enthusiastic little explorers seem to give lie to Berger's poetic presentation of homo sapiens as the only creature who comes into an unfinished world and must, by his very nature, actively engage in continuous creation (Berger, 1969).

Studies of aiding behavior will be discussed later under socialization, but one curious characteristic of a certain kind of aiding behavior will be mentioned here. In the Fellner and Marshall study of kidney donors (1970: 269-281), the decision to become a donor was instantaneous and preceded the long educational process medical teams insist on with potential donors. Once the decision was made, it was never subsequently questioned, and the "official decision time" from the point of view of the medical team came long after the actual decision time. It appears as if there had been some kind of internal triggering mechanism that set off the original instantaneous response. Along the same lines, one characteristic feature of all aiding behaviors studied was that the recipient of aid was clearly perceived by the aidor to be dependent on her. The capacity for this kind of response is clearly relevant to dealing with stress and change.

Another predisposition which no one will challenge as genetically programmed, and which may have special relevance for non-violence is play.

Play. Drawing on a synthesis of Huizinga (1955:13) and Simmel (Wolff, 1950:42-43) I will define play as behavior which involves the removal of social forms and physical materials from the instrumental contexts of ordinary use and engaging in more or less patterned recombinations of these forms and materials as a free exercise of mind and body for the mutual delight of the participants. Homo sapiens freely empathizes with animals at play, so it is one of the few activities in which we take delight as a member of the animal world. No matter what the cultural overlay, we have no difficulty in recognizing play activity. Its significance in terms of behavioral repertoires is the resource it provides of free energy and spontaneous variability, which may be drawn on in unsuspected ways in times of environmentally imposed stress.

Imagining the other as a possible predisposition overlaps somewhat with both play and coping behavior, but the act of projection into another time gives this behavior unique properties.

Imagining the Other. I define the imagining of the other as the construction of alternative models of some or all aspects of the social order in a deliberate effort to reorganize reality in terms of a conceivable other state placed either in the past or the future. This definition covers a range of activities from social planning through science fiction fantasy to conceptions of heaven and hell. It covers both utopianism à la H.G. Wells and counter-utopianism à la Orwell. All societies imagine an other condition, though some imagine chiefly a past, which is why this category is not labelled futurism. It is by no means clear that the imagining of the other is in any way stimulus-specific, but a well-developed capacity to imagine alternative futures would clearly be an asset in dealing with stress and social change. Kavenau's mouse rearranging his mouse world (Smith, 1968) hints at imagining the other, as do the nest-building activities of birds, though there is no reason to believe that they imagine what they are preparing for. Fred Polak has analyzed the human capacity to envision the other in The Image of the Future (1972) on the basis of historical materials from all the major civilizations. A quantity of related literature on achievement motivation (McClelland, 1961; McClelland and Winter, 1969) and aspiration levels (Kausler, 1959) bears on this theme of imagining the other, but is couched entirely in terms of socialization practices. The neurochemical substrate for this activity, if any, has yet to be identified.

Spiritual bonding as a pre-programmed response capacity may seem like an odd concept to introduce into a study of socialization for non-violent social change. Extensive reading in recent months on the mystical experience in several of the major cultural traditions in human history has made me aware of a body of knowledge not incorporated into behavioral science research. Since a certain number of references to the possibility of development of as-yet-unrealized potentials, or evolutionary emergence of new potentials for homo sapiens as suggested by John Platt (1966), Lecomte du Nouy (1949), Teilhard de Chardin (1959) and others, does creep into future-oriented social science (see John McHale, The Future of the Future, 1969), it seems useful to try incorporating a spiritual-intuitive response capacity into the socialization model being developed here. While the spiritual refers to the transcendent, its relevance to the social order is the theme of all the great religions.

Spiritual Bonding. I will define spiritual bonding as the development by the human of a relationship with the divine involving both reciprocity and surrender: reciprocity of love and responsibility as reflected in the teachings concerning a divine-human convenant, and surrender of will as required by the recognition of the omnipotence and beneficence of divine wisdom as contrasted with the fallibility and ambiguity of human understanding. The divine-human bonding involves a reordering and reconstruction of all human identities and relationships as the human comes in contact with a cosmic order that works back on and transmutes the social self and all social relationships while incorporating them in a trans-specific x evolutionary process. This definition draws on Evelyn Underhill (Mysticism, 1955), Sri Aurobindo (The Divine Life, 1965), Teilhard de Chardin (Phenomenon of Man, 1959), Walter Nigg (The Great Saints, 1948), and William James (Varieties of Religious Experience, 1902).

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x In the sense of trans-species

This type of bonding is not ordinarily engaged in by the average homo sapiens. Nevertheless, it is a recurring event in all cultures, and William Sargant in Battle for the Mind (1957) presents evidence for a patterned sequence of build-up of stress that leads to conversion experiences (both political and religious). Conversion experiences are by no means synonymous with mystical experiences, but they are usually the precondition for them. William James and Evelyn Underhill present similar evidence relating more directly to the mystical experience. One could at least hypothesize a neural-chemical substrate for mystical experience, triggered only by a very specialized set of circumstances. As a kind of super-bonding capacity, it may well have long-term relevance for the survival of homo sapiens.

The material we have introduced on genetic predispositions to learning suggests a major resource for creative and peace-making responses to be taken account of in the socialization process. We will now go on to examine developmental and maturational processes in the socialization context, and link these with the genetic substrate when we are ready to put the model itself together. One of the most interesting uses that has been made of developmental theories has been in the area of political socialization drawing on the work of Piaget. Researchers in this field have tried to answer the question, "What shapes the child as an actor on the political and civic scene?"

Developmental and Chronological Sequences

Piaget's work (1951) has enabled other researchers, notably David Easton (1969), Lawrence Kohlberg (1966) and Judith Torney (1970) to focus on certain maturational factors as having particular significance for the child's ability to take on creative political and social action roles. These include the ability of the child to view situations from more than one perspective, to make abstract conceptualizations independently of concrete situations, and to use abstract moral principles in arriving at decisions or judgments. Clearly these maturational phenomena have something to do with the fact that the tendency to confuse God and the President of the United States, and to confuse the Lord's prayer with the pledge of allegiance to the flag, disappear in the early elementary school years. They also have something to do with the increased capacity of children by eighth grade to engage in more analytic discussions of the political system than they could in kindergarten.

Cognitive maturation has probably been given more explanatory loading than it can carry, however, and the question of how emotional maturation is linked to the cognitive has been largely ignored. Adequate maturational studies on the development of empathy and altruism are still to be undertaken. The work of Hartshorn and May (1929) and Lois Murphy (1937) laid a foundation which was for a long time ignored. E. Midlarsky (1968) in a recent review identifies two studies done in the 1950's relating age and altruism (Ugurel-Semin, 1952; Handon and Gross, 1959), and she herself has used age as a variable in studying altruism (E. Midlarsky and Bryan, 1967). All the indications are that the capacity for empathy and social warmth mature along with the cognitive capacities, but how they interact in the maturing child's perceptions of self and society we do not know. The subject has apparently not been of interest to educators. When we discover findings such as that of Lambert and Klineberg (1967) that American children's interest in foreigners and persons very dissimilar to themselves peaks at age 10 and then declines [x], we would like to know what mixture of cognition and affect produces that result.

A third type of maturation, related to the capacity for spiritual bonding, can be labeled spiritual-intuitive. In cultures that give the same careful training to the spiritual-intuitive faculty as to the socio-emotional and cognitive in the child, social behavior is given another dimension because it is conceived in what might be called a nonspheric context (Teilhard de Chardin, 1959). Gandhi's satyagraha (Bondurant, 1955) and some traditions of training within catholic and non-catholic religious orders are good examples of a complex of thought, feeling and behavior that draws in this third capacity as well as on the emotional and the cognitive. In our model, a balanced continuing development and training in all three of these capacities is seen as contributing to the growth of the creative peace-maker.

The development of social role-taking skills goes hand in hand with the development of cognitive-emotional-intuitive capacities. This is not maturational in the sense that these other capacities are, but rather represents the building up of a kind of repertoire with which the maturing child can work more and more effectively. These social skills are partly a result of complex Meadian "taking the role of the other", (Mead, 1934), which depends on the role models present in the individual's life space, partly the product of extended social play in the peer group as children "try out" different social roles as they perceive them, on each other - and at times on adults.

If we do not understand the interrelationship of cognitive and emotional maturation, we understand much less the complex four-way interrelationship between physiological maturation and the other processes. Eibl-Eibesfeldt's (1972) suggestion mentioned earlier that certain ethical and aesthetic attitudes become fixated at early stages of development and are highly resistant to later change needs to be systematically explored in longitudinal research. Cross-sectional research cannot possibly deal with this problem. If the development of a healthy capacity for social trust is critically affected by the four-way interaction of these factors at an early age, it would be helpful to know about this.

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[x] "By the age of 14 these same young people appeared less open to positive views of foreign nations (Torney, 1972."

In addition to developmental sequences there is another, chronological sequence which is of great importance to the life of the growing child: the succession of historical events in the child's time stream. As she "survives" event after event in the world "out there" - wars, elections, assassinations, technological break-throughs - she builds up an "event stock" on which she can draw in constructing her image of the world and her role in it. The event stock is part of the objective environmental reality. Growing with it is her own "knowledge stock", compounded of her perception of events and of information acquired via teachers, books, TV and all other sources of information to which she is exposed.

The child's personal-social maturation interacts with the event streams in a way that is crucial for determining the style of that maturation. Children who have had first-hand experience of war have different images of the world, and different responses to it, than children who have not (Haavelsrud, 1971). Critical public events in the time-stream during childhood help set a world view that persists through life. The Munich trauma determined the attitudes of a whole generation of citizens and policy makers. The war in Indo-China is having an equally potent, but very different, effect on today's children. The view of the earth from the moon which is now a basic ingredient in the feeling about the planet for the children of the 60's, provides a context for all the information we impart to them about the world with effects we cannot begin to imagine.

Figure 2 provides a diagrammatic representation of the relationship between the developmental sequences we have been discussing and the social or event spaces in which learning takes place.

Up to this point we have viewed the biologically maturing child with her genetically given predispositions to learn as acquiring on the one hand a set of perceptual and analytic skills based on her developing emotional-cognitive-intuitive equipment, with a set of behavioral, role-taking skills to match, and acquiring on the other hand a stock of "survived historical events" and an accompanying knowledge stock.

The interaction between developmental processes and learning is a complex one. Inhelder and Sinclair (1969) point out that

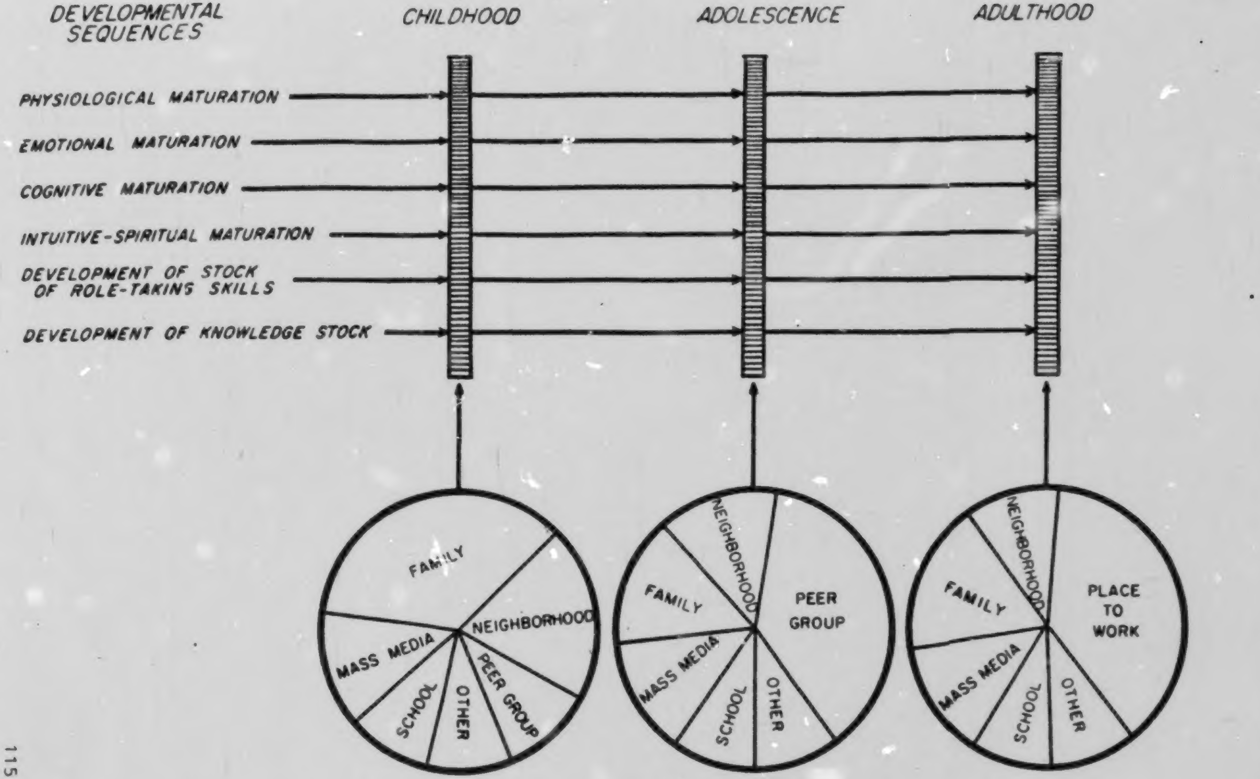
DEVELOPMENTAL SEQUENCES
CHILDHOOD
ADOLESCENCE
ADULTHOOD
PHYSIOLOGICAL MATURATION
EMOTIONAL MATURATION
COGNITIVE MATURATION
INTUITIVE-SPIRITUAL MATURATION
DEVELOPMENT OF STOCK OF ROLE-TAKING SKILLS
DEVELOPMENT OF KNOWLEDGE STOCK
FAMILY
NEIGHBORHOOD
PEER GROUP
OTHER
SCHOOL
MASS MEDIA
FAMILY
NEIGHBORHOOD
PEER GROUP
OTHER
SCHOOL
MASS MEDIA
FAMILY
NEIGHBORHOOD
PLACE TO WORK
OTHER
SCHOOL
MASS MEDIA

Figure 2. Developmental Sequences and Social Spaces: The Context of the Socialization Process.

> ... although learning may accelerate development (within certain limits), such acceleration obeys limitative conditions of assimilation which, in turn, are subject to temporal regulations reminiscent of the 'chronological succession of competences' in embryology,as Waddington calls them (Inhelder and Sinclair, 1969:19).

Learning Processes

The types of learning we will be concerned with in analyzing the socialization process are cognitive construction, social learning through reinforcement, and social modeling In the analysis of the event spaces in which socialization takes place which follows, it will be well to keep in mind these three types of learning, which will be briefly reviewed here. Cognitive construction is the interior work of assembling data from the perceived world, relating them to data already stored in the mind, and organizing them into ordered images and concepts. The degree of sophistication of the constructs depends on the developmental stage of the child, but in no case does understanding

> ... consist in simply incorporating ready-made and readily available data, but rather in rediscovering them or reinventing them by one's own activity (Inhelder and Sinclair, 1969:21).

Social learning through selective reinforcement of responses has been the major focus of socialization research since the thirties when Dollard, Doob, Miller and Sears (1939) began their social learning studies. Bandura, Walters and Aronfreed, cited elsewhere in this chapter, work from this theoretical base. Behavioral modification through operant conditioning is a more recent variant of this, and has found many uses in therapy settings. A pathological behavior sequence in a child or adult can be redirected by focusing on one segment of that behavior and withdrawing previous positive reinforcements for that behavior. Similarly, new behaviors can be created by positive reinforcements for new sequences (Creer and Yoches, 1971; Walker and Buckley, 1968; Mattos and Mattson, 1969; and Kimble, 1961).

While older social learning theory would emphasize reinforcement as the basic learning process that goes on in the family, and in the other event spaces to be discussed, modeling has come to be increasingly recognized as a special form of social learning not directly dependent on reinforcement to the modeler (Bandura and Walters, 1963). Modeling is not a new concept, but Gabriel Tarde's work in Les Lois D'Imitation (Laws of Imitation) somehow never entered the mainstream of social learning theory [x]. It is of special interest to us because modeling represents a unique "instant" type of learning of a very complex set of interrelated behaviors which the learner is able to emulate without having added each component in piece-by-piece-learning (Bandura and Walters, 1963). It is learning through observation, and can take place at a distance; for example, through watching a person on T.V., reading about a fictional or real-life heroine, or knowing about a community leader with whom one never has personal contact. It is much more economical than reinforcement learning, which involves simpler units of behavior, learned sequentially. Also, modeling represents the possibility of unintended socialization in contexts where no teaching is planned (Jessor and Jessor, 1967).

After an examination of the event spaces in which social learning takes place, we will present the socialization model which incorporates all of the elements discussed so far in the paper.

The Child's Set of Social Spaces

Six important categories of social space within which the child receives significant socialization are the family, the neighborhood, the peer group, the school, other institutional settings (church, scouts, the Y's) and the world as imaged in the mass media. While each of these spaces continues to be part of a child's life into adulthood, they change in relative importance, from early childhood to youth, as reflected in the social space "pies" in the diagram (Figure 2). Family and neighborhood are most important in early years; peer group, school and other formal institutional settings are most important later. The TV set is the one social space that remains significant and unchanged in its relative importance from pre-school through the high school years, according to a study of sources of attitudes on war and peace in Canadian and American children by Haavelsrud (1971).

The Family. As a socializing agent, the family provides the child with role models for the management of tension and conflict (Elmer, 1967; Laing, 1967; Hefler and Kempe, 1968), with training for problem-solving (Rosen, 1959), with a self-image reflecting perceived adequacy and competence (Dollard, et. al., 1939), with opportunities for aggressive or creative play (Psychology Today, 1968), and with an image of the world as set or changeable, friendly or hostile (Sigel, 1965). So much has been written on the family's role in determining the personal and social adequacy of the child, that there is no need to expand on these points here.

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[x] Tarde's name does not even appear in the standard work on socialization, Clausen's Socialization and Society (1968).

The Neighborhood. While the pre-schooler is socialized primarily through the family, the primary social environment outside the home, i.e., the neighborhood, gradually increases in importance as a socializing agent for the pre-adolescent. Neighbors, policemen, the family doctor, and other local figures interact with him in neighborhood events and (1) provide alternative role models and (2) reinforce or contradict the training given in the family setting.

School. The socializing influence of the school is felt (a) through the teacher as a personal role model, (b) through the teacher's ordering of data concerning the structure, organization and values of society and (c) through textbook presentation of the world. The last two, (b) and (c), contribute explicitly to the child's cognitive mapping of the world, though there is an implicit contribution to the cognitive mapping from all the sources listed earlier. There is some evidence that there may be a direct relationship between the complexity of the cognitive structure of the elementary school teachers and the degree of acceptance of groups and cultures different from one's own on the part of elementary school students, independently of the type of textbook used (Maruyama, 1969).

Not only does the teacher's own cognitive structure mediate the learnings of the students, but styles of teaching foster either an active intellectual search on the part of the students which enables them to sustain cognitive dissonance and engage in creative problem-solving, or a passive "receptable" stance which induces compartmentalized stereotyped thinking and an inability to confront new situations.

Other Institutional Settings. The child has an opportunity to play out a variety of alternative roles in her play groups, church association settings and formal groups such as Cub Scouts and Brownies. The degree of rigidity and level of aggression with which she plays these roles, and her openness to alternative solutions to problems, is largely determined by her socialization experiences in the other settings mentioned. However, the opportunities for anticipatory socialization into possible change-agent roles in this play behavior are significant in themselves; Huizinga (1955) has pointed out the importance of play in generating social innovation.

The Socialization Model and the Real-Life Activist

We have now built up a picture of the child with a set of genetic predispositions to learn both aggressive and bonding and problem solving behaviors, maturing in their cognitive, emotional and intuitive capacities, acquiring role-taking skills and a knowledge stock, and engaging in social learning in a variety of event spaces. Figure 3 links these factors together.

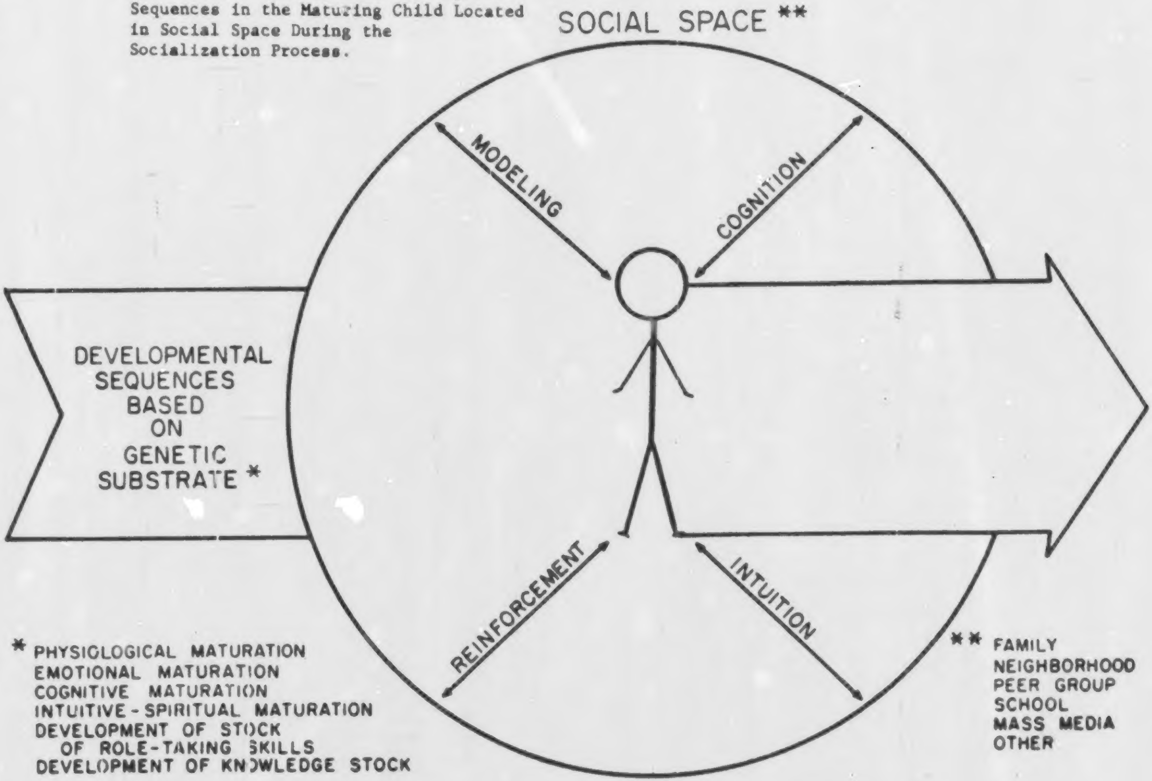
It will be remembered that when the ingredients for the socialization model were first presented, it was suggested that the life experience of a non-violent activist would include the following features: (1) optimal opportunities for emotional, cognitive and intuitive development; (2) exposure to events and knowledge stock; (3) exposure to a variety of adult and peer role models; (4) role-playing and problem-solving opportunities; and (5) rewarding feedback for problem solving.

These statements are all qualifying statements about the way in which different parts of the socialization process included in the socialization model move forward in the life experience of the growing child to produce peace-making behavior. Now we will look at some of the research on development of peaceful attitudes and peaceful dissenting behavior in recent protest movements for confirmation or disconfirmation of these postulates.

Developmental Opportunities in Home and School and Exposure to Events Stock

Research in support of points (1) and (2) were presented in the discussion of social space. We need add here only a mention of the convergence of research findings on student activists and their families. The two issues of the *Journal of Social Issues* devoted to this topic, October 1964 and July 1967, especially the articles by Flacks (1967), Gelineau and Kantor (1964), Christian Bay (1967), Fishman and Solomon (1964), and the Rosenham study of the civil rights movement activists (1971), plus the Block, Haan and Smith study of activism and apathy in adolescents (1968) all point to the fact that liberal parents who have close, warm relationships with their children and also provide intellectual stimulation in the home often produce children who become committed activists, acting out their parent's views in ways their parents have not done. While children and parents may now disagree, the fact remains that in these families there has been more open communication between parents and children than in the average family. These activist students are better informed than their non-activist counterparts.

Figure 3. Socialization Model: Interaction of the Genetic Substrate and Developmental Sequences in the Maturing Child Located in Social Space During the Socialization Process.


SOCIAL SPACE **
MODELING
COGNITION
REINFORCEMENT
INTUITION
DEVELOPMENTAL SEQUENCES BASED ON GENETIC SUBSTRATE *
* PHYSIOLOGICAL MATURATION
EMOTIONAL MATURATION
COGNITIVE MATURATION
INTUITIVE - SPIRITUAL MATURATION
DEVELOPMENT OF STOCK OF ROLE-TAKING SKILLS
DEVELOPMENT OF KNOWLEDGE STOCK
** FAMILY
NEIGHBORHOOD
PEER GROUP
SCHOOL
MASS MEDIA
OTHER

Heckman's study (1972) of theological students who turned in their draft cards as a protest against the war and risked prison sentences rather than take the draft deferrment permitted them by their choice of the ministerial vocation shows similar family closeness, together with encouragement by parents of independent thinking on the part of the sons. Maccoby's discussion (1968) of the development of moral behavior in childhood also makes very clear the crucial role of parental child-rearing styles which combine emotional warmth with encouragement of autonomy in producing children with both a sense of competence and of social responsibility. Since warmth without autonomy can mean overprotective childrearing and produce timidity in children, the willingness of parents to stand back and let their children experiment on their own and think for themselves appears to be equally important with warmth in the development of the creative peace-maker.

Exposure to Adult and Peer Role Models

The importance of the peer group as a source of role models is often ignored in favor of a focus on significant adults. The importance of the peer group is particularly pronounced in the development of attitudes toward peace and peace-making. Haavelsrud's (1971) study shows that friends are considered a more important source of information about peace than any other agent by tenth-graders. In fact, these teen-agers report that teachers, textbooks and the media all teach them much more effectively about war than about peace. The significance of informal and formal peer-group associations in structuring and strengthening commitment of young people to new behaviors can hardly be overestimated in the light of their reported judgments that they learn about peace-making from each other, not from any sector of the adult society or the mass media.

We have other evidence, however, that the effect of special adult role models at this age may be very great. Studies of critical influences in the lives of young adults who were conscientious objectors in World War II (Guetzkow, 1945) and of women who became active in the Women's Strike for Peace in 1962 (E. Boulding, 1965) reveals the importance of an encounter, often in the early teens, with a minister, teacher or other community figure who represented a dynamic role model for social change in contrast with earlier role model exposure for these individuals. Encounters with great social innovators through reading were also reported as significant experiences. Heckman's (1972) seminary draft resisters also reported the great importance of male adults other than their fathers in their intellectual and moral development.

Competence-Generating Social Experience

Combining points (4) and (5) listed above, we find the researches on socialization for competence and on development of altruistic behavior emphasize the importance of the following:

a. Successful past experience with problem-solving and ability to cope with stress (E. Midlarsky, 1968; Midlarsky and Midlarsky, 1971); Sampson, 1967; Block, Haan and Smith, 1968; and Aronfreed, 1970).

b. feelings of optimism about society, confidence in self (E. Midlarsky and Bryan, 1972; E. Midlarsky, 1968; Midlarsky and Midlarsky, 1972; Bay, 1967; London, 1970, and Smith, 1968).

c. feelings of responsibility for the well-being of others (Heckman, 1972; Fishman and Soloman, 1964).

d. experience of emotional warmth and reward for helping behavior (Kaufman, 1970:104; Aronfreed, 1970).

A variety of research on altruism from different points of view all make clear the relationship between competence and altruism. A person does not engage in aiding behavior, particularly at cost to herself, unless she feels competent and this feeling of competence is based on past successes. E. Midlarsky (1968) makes clear that what looks like very costly altruistic behavior to an outsider is a trifle to the aider because she knows she has the competence to do what others would find difficult. She can also endure more stress than the average person (Withey, 1962; Janis, 1962). It is not however an exclusively middle class phenomenon, although much of the research on competence emphasizes the training for competence of middle class parents. E. Midlarsky (1968:237) reports different patterns of aiding behavior in the lower and middle class, but aiding itself is not class-linked. The word autonomy is frequently used in describing the personality of the altruist.

An enormous optimism about the future and confidence in self as actor characterizes the activist-altruist. London (1970) describes the characteristics of the rescuers of Jews in Nazi Germany as including a pronounced spirit of adventurousness. This was all the more notable because their aiding responses were taken at very great risk and they were a very tiny social minority with no reinforcement possible for their behavior except a sense of acting on behalf of a future, better society (and of course the gratitude of the rescued). Sorokin's good neighbors in his neighbor study were notably optimistic people (1950). Christian Bay in his study of college students (1967) considers optimism about the future one of the key characteristics of activists.

Feelings of responsibility for others extending beyond particular claims made personally by the activist are marked. Heckman's seminary students (1972) who risked jail needlessly to resist the draft expressed deep concern about how society was going. "What kind of people are we becoming?" "I want to be able to face my children." These feelings begin to develop early. Fishman and Solomon (1964) state:

> In studies of peace and civil rights demonstrators we have tentatively noted that "first memories" of social concern and sympathy seem to cluster around the ages of 5-7 and 12-15. This coincides with period of great personality and role transition in the individual. Perhaps the awareness of and discomfort with change in the self increases the tendency to displacement and projection and thus enhances sensivity to and sympathy with suffering in others (Fishman and Solomon, 1964:6).

The notion that spurts in personal growth and in sensitivity to others may go hand in hand is an interesting one for parents and educators to explore.

One of the most delightful of all researches into altruism was undertaken recently by Elizabeth Midlarsky and James Bryan (1972), in which they demonstrated that joyous hugging of children when they engaged in an altruistic response in an experimental situation (sharing candy or other goodies) greatly increased the frequency of altruistic responses in future runs of the experiment. The rewards of altruism can be felt through positive responses of rewarding others, or through the simple perception that the person helped is in fact now better off. Aronfreed (1970) argues that the altruist is automatically reinforced by the fact of desired outcomes being produced for the person helped. This simple observation removes a lot of unnecessary mystique from altruistic behavior.

The child who becomes an altruist, an activist, and a non-violent shaper of the future is then one who feels autonomous, competent, confident about her own future and the future of society, able to cope with stress, relates warmly to others and feels responsibility for them even when they are not directly dependent on her. She has had many opportunities to solve problems and play out different social roles in the past and her successes have been recognized and rewarded; she has been exposed to a wide variety of events, accumulated a fair amount of knowledge, and has a cognitively complex view of the world. She has been inspired by adult role models, but also nurtured and helped by her own peers. In terms of our model, she has had optimal opportunities to develop each of her capacities, cognitive, emotional and intuitive, during her maturing years; her predispositions for bonding, for altruism, play, creating alternatives have more than counter-balanced her predispositions for aggression. Her social spaces have been filled with challenges she could meet, role models which provided rich sources of complex learnings about possible social behavior, and positive reinforcements for her attempts to make constructive changes around her.

This shaper of the future is something of a miracle, since as Christian Bay points out:

> Every new human being is potentially a liberal animal and a rebel; yet every social organization he will be up against from the family to the state, is likely to seek to "socialize" him into a conveniently pliant conformity (Bay, 1967:90).

If we look at the daily lives of children and teen-agers, we get a very powerful impression that they are extracting something from their various environments and from the time-stream that most adults are missing. Vietnam, President Kennedy's assassination, the space-walk, tightly-packed urban misery, loneliness in the midst of affluence - all these have filtered through the formal socialization agencies and contributed to a set of images of the world inside the child's head quite different from the ones held by the older generation. The autonomous role of cognition and intuition in social learning must not be forgotten. In acting on their own images young people are engaging in a kind of social creativity that defies encapsulation in any theory of socialization.

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PEACE EDUCATION : AN ATTEMPT AT DEMYSTIFICATION

The conventional approach of peace education seems to be not only bereft of operational value, but quite ineffective. This is due to the general changes in conditions all over the world, and, of course, within the educational situation.

At the time of the openly acknowledged "cold war", peace education aimed, naturally, at convincing people that they should be aware that the state of peace is, in principle, possible, that it may be maintained for a lasting period, and, finally, that a general moral duty forces one to act accordingly. Power and superpower establishments tried to persuade people that the only solution for settling conflicts and antogonisms is war either as a planetory conflagration, or in the form of permanent so-called local-wars, in different parts of the globe. Even if this idea was not explicitely expressed as such, it was, nevertheless, the basic premise of political strategies.

Now, the ideal of peace has been appropriated by the constitutional centres of political decision making. This might be considered a hopeful prospect, but facts have shown that many of the proposed projects are intended, in the first place, to strengthen the present balance of power. Thus one reaches a consolidation and reinforcement of one of the basic causes determining iniquities, disparities, antogonisms. The trend to restrain action which might ensure peace comprises in itself the threat that this could be used in order to manipulate minds, and public opinion. (At least, we have to compare statements about peace, with concrete actions, with facts.) If that is the true state of affairs then we are confronted with a vast and most monstrous manipulation of the human conscience. To limit ourselves to simple talks on peace, on non-violence etc., without taking into account this fundamental change in circumstances means transforming peace education, too, into a blind auxiliary of this manipulation.

To avoid such a development, it is imperative to proceed to a radical demystification of the conceptional framework of peace education.

I shall illustrate with a concrete case what I have in my mind: most peace-educational conceptions and strategies fail to make the semiotically necessary distinction between the semantic and the pragmatic level (or dimension). This requirement is not provoked by the desire to formulate the problems in a more sophisticated manner, but in order to comply with practical achievements. Thus, for instance, semantically, it is possible and necessary to prove that human problems, including political ones, can and must be settled without utilizing violence (= strategy of non-violence); pragmatically, however, we know too well what a strategy of non-violence has achieved when a foreign army has occupied a country ...

It is, however, obvious, in the light of such events, that in the case of peace education we must distinguish the pragmatic from the semantic aspect and vice versa. Otherwise, as in the concrete case shown above, to transfer automatically the principle of non-violence from the semantic level to the pragmatic one might mean to favour, effectively, the uprising of violence.

This paradoxical outcome has its origin in a false understanding of the nature of education, subsequently also of peace education, which ought to be demystified in its turn.

The obsolete, but still very widespread view about education is dominated by some ideological dogmas. Among these dogmas three are also significant for our approach to peace education.

1. *The dogma of the invariability and homogenity of the educational situation*. Subsequently, those of the ideals, goals and objectives, of structures, contents and methods.

2. *The dogma of reducing education to onesided intellectual and verbal communication*. In this context education means to talk of and to argue for a certain matter deeming that these means are sufficient to determine a change of motivation as well as an ability to confront and to solve problematical situations.

3. *The dogma of the belief that certain educational actions and communications necessarily produce certain effects* (a deterministic pattern of education). Of course, the consequences of the above dogmatic prejudices also affect the theory and practice of peace education.

If we have a look at the state of peace education, we must recognize that in spite of really good intentions even this field is ruled by the obsolete conception described above by the three dogmata.

Indeed, very few peace education programmes - if indeed any at all - take into consideration the radical changes in and the real heterogeneity of the present educational situation Due to these circumstances, peace education is in fact manipulated and made use of by the Establishment because of its false intentions concerning the educational situation. The means of both of manipulating and making use of peace education lie in the abstract character and the lack of pertinence of their ideals, goals, objectives etc. At the beginning of this paper, I pointed out some of the relevant features of the world situation as it is now. It must be stressed that the misunderstanding of the actual facts we have to face provokes attitudes profitable to the centres of political decision making: peace and peace education are thought of in a very abstract and universal way. But, as I have mentioned, one may not overlook the fact that for different regions, countries, and above all for different social systems some basic concepts of peace education have different meanings. I illustrated this with the example of the concept of non-violence. The problem arises in the same way, for instance, when someone refuses to do military service. The social function of this refusal can be quite different depending whether the person lives in the US or in North Vietnam. Categories of peace education have a contentual meaning which depends on the concrete societal environment. Keeping in mind the above examples, it is clear that this contextuality is equally significant whether one examines the problems from a societal or an individual point of view. To transfer the concepts from the societal level to the individual one, and vice versa, constitutes a heavy methodological error, with, possibly, extremely dangerous consequences in practice. The contextual dependency of peace education categories creates a situation where it is impossible to speak meaningfully without referring explicitely to the given social systems or to their interrelationship. This indicates that peace education involves a political explanation of the societal environment, within the framework of which one has to deal with the resulting problems.

Subsequently, peace education has to define its concept taking into consideration
(a) the permanently changing educational situation,
(b) its extreme heterogeneity, and
(c) its intrinsic political nature.

Secondly, we must regard peace education, like education in general, not only as a process of intellectual and verbal communication, but as a process aiming at "total" communication.

Of course, we cannot limit peace education to a simple transmission of semantic information, nor can we disregard the dangers of intellectual and verbal bias adopting a different onesided position: the substitution of an exclusively emotional type of communication for the exclusively intellectual one, as biased as the original.

Peace education has to determine modifications in the motivational system. In other words, it regards the personality as a whole.

Therefore, peace education has to employ not simply one certain type of human communication, but an integrative synthetic, holistic, synergetic type of communication, that is to say, "total" or comprehensive communication.

Finally, one has to rid peace education of the present dominance exercised by deterministic patterns.

Only a naively vulgar view about education supposes that it would be sufficient to carry out a certain educational action in order to obtain some definite result. In reality, any educational action creates a field of possible and probable responses, but the outcome of a certain action (a certain kind of behaviour which is aimed at) depends on the structure of the individual, on his position in and his interaction with the social system which represents his societal environment, as such to effectuate and to control actions involved in peace education, to judge their effectiveness requires démarches on a highly scientific level. For these reasons I am very sceptical about the outburst of amateurism in the field of education, and of course, in peace education, too. This point of view is not inspired by an aloof attitude, but solely by operational consideration. What perspectives and chances could this amateuristic peace education have in comparison with those of the State which has at its disposal a huge scientific and technological apparatus for implementing its strategy?

Therefore, peace education also must disregard the romanticism of this amateuristic trend, even if it is the expression of generosity and good will, - or it risks loosing all efficiency und thus becoming an instrument of those principles it initially intended to break.

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PEACE RESEARCH AND PEACE EDUCATION: A PESSIMISTIC NOTE

Just as peace researchers and educators are to be brought together on the crest of enthusiasm for and optimism about peace education, there is also definitely a need for an advocatus diaboli to state the reasons for not being overly optimistic about any rapid results of the contacts between these different groups. It is understood that the impact of such enthusiasm is already too great to undergo much change, even if subjected to a critique where, for the sake of emphasis, the reservations and careful formulations are much fewer than they should be in normal academic prose.

For it is definitely true that there are reasons for pessimism and criticism; so let us immediately state some of the more important ones.

The most general obstacle to closer cooperation is common to the relations between researchers and educators more or less everywhere: On the one hand, the producers of knowledge refuse to, or are unable to, express themselves in a language understandable enough to serve as a basis for preparing teaching, and, on the other hand, they continually complain about the educators' misunderstanding or vulgarizing the message on its way to a broader public. This, in itself, is normal, and should, therefore, not create a lesser likelihood of fruitful cooperation here than in other fields.

But there is one more catch in our case, since peace researchers are likely to consider educators more obnoxious than other researchers do. For while people teaching physics or history would normally accept the physicists' or historians' definitions of their subjects, the central parts of them, and the body of established knowledge, peace teachers tend to have their own ideas about all this, thereby refusing to accept the traditional researcher-teacher division of labour. Such a refusal may be a good idea; but it certainly does not make it any easier to establish workable forms for cooperation.

The likelihood of jealousies and conflicts of competence is thus greater than in other fields; and this is further magnified by the fact that many researchers, too, tend to abandon the traditional division of labour. For it is a widespread idea among researchers, as well as among educators, that peace research is special in the sense that there is some intrinsic connection between what is taught/learnt and how it is taught/learnt, or at least that this connection is stronger here than elsewhere. In consequence, we would expect to find it a common phenomenon that both categories insist on defining what the message is as well as how to transmit it; and from this it is easy to conceive of further battle issues emerging between researchers and educators.

It might be objected that precisely this overlapping of roles could be turned into a fruitful breeding-ground for cooperation, so that it should be easier for peace researchers and peace educators to interact beneficially than for most other combinations of producers and distributors of knowledge. If this objection is a pious statement of hope, it is easy to agree; but if it purports to express a factual expectation, it should be very carefully formulated in its optimism, unless mutual frustration is to cause a breakdown in relationships. A sound pessimism seems to be a better basis for preparing both categories for the vicissitudes to be undergone before any practical results of cooperation emerge.

One more problem makes a considerable amount of patience advisable: It is the experience, gained by introspection and by personal observations of the present author, that educators as well as peace researchers have a somewhat obsessive passion for preaching to other people, which can be expected to make communication rather difficult between the two categories as well as within them; for the passion for being preached to is very much rarer than the passion for preaching.

Fundamental Ambiguities: Peace, Education and Peace Education

Even a writer who is generally sick and tired of semantical analysis as a frequent modern version of scholasticism will hardly be able to avoid dealing with it in the present context. For there are at least two problems that have to be tackled before we can say very much more about the topic under consideration. Leaving philosophers to brood over the meaning of the word "education", we maintain that we must clarify the following two questions,

1) How are the notions of "peace", "violence" etc. used?
2) What is meant by the juxtaposition of the words "peace" and "education"?

The first issue is comprehensive enough to deserve a section of its own; so let us just underline that the second one is far from unproblematic.

It appears that the combination of words, "peace education" is used in at least two different senses in debate, and that this contributes to a certain amount of confusion.

On the one hand, one frequently finds "peace education" to mean "teaching the findings of peace research", quite analogously with "natural science education", etc. There may be reasons for using a slightly more vague general translation, say, "transmission of findings from peace research"; for the word "teaching" is not so crucial in this context.
The other meaning of the phrase "peace education" that appears to be fairly current can be given as "education _for_ peace", i.e. education somehow aiming at changing attitudes to peace (to social justice, etc.), at preparing people for peace actions, and in general at having the effect of increasing (the likelihood of) peace in some system.

It is important to keep these two different types of meanings analytically distinct before relating them to eachother. For, while there is no a priori contradiction between them, they are definitely not the same thing. For example, peace education in the first sense may neither be a necessary, nor a sufficient, condition for peace education in the second sense; and whether it is either, is an empirical question, the answer to which depends on what peace educators (in the second sense) believe to be useful means for furthering peace, particularly on whether they believe teaching the findings of peace research to be useful for that aim.

By defining "peace education" (in the second sense) as we have, we have also left it as an empirical question whether peace education leads to peace. That, then, would be a problem for peace _researchers:_ What types and contents of education have what results in relation to peace under what conditions?

The Elusive Peace

At this point, it becomes unavoidable to inquire, for the umpteenth time, into the basic terms of the discipline: "Peace", "violence", "conflict", and "social justice". We shall, however, try to avoid repeating the lengthy debate on the semantics of these expressions,referring the reader rather to the Journal of Peace Research, where much of it can be found, from the editorial in JPR 1964:1, via the articles by Galtung and Schmid, and on to the contributions by Gronow & Hilppö (JPR 1970:4) and by Derriennic (JPR 1972:4).

Here, we shall concentrate on one important aspect of the conclusions that can be drawn from an analysis of the debate:The discussions on the definitions of the concepts listed above have mainly been of a normative character, although mostly hidden under a social science verbiage. There is nothing illegitimate about that, unless one takes a more than usually rigorous positivist point of view, be it of the older (Lundbergian) or of a more recent (Althusserian) version. There is no denying that a continuous debate on the fundamental notions brings benefits in terms of sensitivity to new problems (also there might be other ways of achieving that than continuous redefinition of concepts); but the risks are also obvious and manifest. The fashionable "definitions of the year" will often serve to patch over differences of opinion by finding acceptable verbal formulae as well as to define away serious problems by making their answers seemingly tautologous.

Clearly , then, the different sweeping definitions of the basic terms that have been proposed by various authors will have political functions. On the one hand, since most of the words are so strongly value-loaded, attempts at redefinitions (corresponding to the more or less vague descriptive meanings that the words sometimes have in everyday language) will amount to attempts at moving these value-loadings over to things or states that the authors of definitions like or dislike. On the other hand, manipulations of definitions have a more specific research policy function, by directing the time, energy, and efforts of people identifying themselves with the peace research tradition (or movement , or rather both) to new fields.

Again, there is little reason to have any general and abstract objections to this, except possibly such deriving from intellectual clarity and honesty, particularly about values. Furthermore, the present author does not feel compelled to repeat the traditional political arguments for and against the different positions. Let us therefore immediately try to be more specific as to the dangers lurking around us.

First, there is the definite danger that the apparently unanimous acceptance of definitions and formulae at various conferences may serve more to confuse than to clarify. For the new definitions arrived at tend to be neither operationalized, nor connected with some already existing theory with definite empirical reference; and this leaves any researcher free to mean whatever he likes by the fundamental terms, once he has stated these abstract definitions de parade in the first section of his treatise (this goes for much of social science, but appears to be more taken to its extremes within peace research). One of the most serious consequences of loose and variable terminology is that the hopes for cumulative peace research become rather slim.

There appear to be two ways out of this problem; and probably they should be combined as far as possible: On the one hand, one can integrate the fundamental concepts into the frameworks of already existing theories, and on the other hand try to produce operational definitions.

The first solution has been attempted both with respect to functional theories, and, more recently, to Marxism; in both cases it had the bad luck of being connected to the weaker and vaguer parts of the respective conceptual frameworks, such as "equilibrium" or "exploitation", rather than deriving meaning from more precise notions. Another possibility is, of course, to build up coherent theories around the concepts under discussion; but so far, we can hardly say that any of these theories has found very much empirical reference; the concepts serve as headlines rather than as tools.

The second solution, direct operationalization, might also be possible in some cases. Galtung & Høivik (JPR 1971:1) make the most ambitious attempt so far at operationalizing the notion of structural violence, and do not seem far from succeeding.

So let us make this aspect of the criticism clear: It says that the recent redefinitions of old terms or the creation of new concepts have not yet attained sufficient theoretical and empirical content. It does not say that they cannot; on the contrary, there may be reasons for hope (unless the terms go on to have swiftly variable meanings in the future, too).

But there are other serious problems emerging from the recent terminological trends. If we mention the phenomenon that novices think that they have learnt something about peace research, when they have only memorized a verbal proposal for a definition, it is only because it connects with a more complicated problem already hinted at: It easily (but, of course, not necessarily) happens that important scientific problems are defined beyond all sensible limits, e.g., when "violence" is used as a sweeping term to blanket war as well as various aspects of social injustice.

For if "minimization of violence" is thus used as a goal for research or for action, it means very little until one has indicated how to settle various trade-off problems (how much of this kind of violence is acceptable if it leads to the abolition of so and so much of that kind?) While we find advocates of military as well as nonmilitary strategies asserting that there can be no peace as long as there is oppression (which is typically a pledge to fight oppression rather than an analytical statement), this defines a problem when we use the term "violence" in the proposed widest sense: Will minimization of violence be achieved by enduring the existing social injustice, by fighting it short of physical violence, or by using all available means against it. This is clearly an empirical problem in every concrete situation; but it is not entirely empirical: One has to state some a priori trade-off relations between the different kinds of violence in order to make the problem empirical. (See, again, Galtung & Høivik and Derriennic).)

The general upshot one is likely to get from empirical investigations is that peace in one sense is not compatible with peace in another sense, and that the same goes for violence. These contradictions are important to keep in mind, for if one does not, one is likely to sweep under the carpet a whole set of important questions: Under what circumstances is, e.g., physical violence necessary in order to achieve social justice? Under what circumstances can physical violence be effective at all in creating more social justice? Under what circumstances and in what ways may social justice create different kinds of violence? To what extent are different aspects of social justice at all compatible with each other? (These questions have been formulated from an actor's perspective, but are not dependent on that, since they can easily be reformulated without it.)

One more remark should be added before we proceed to the problems defined by the relationships between research and teaching. It has repeatedly been pointed out that "negative peace" appears to be the only concept around the definition of which some degree of real consensus has emerged. This certainly does not mean that there is consensus about negative peace as the goal of peace research, not even as a necessary element of such a goal - but that is another point, having to do with the fact that when it comes to the term "peace" as denoting a social goal or a research goal, most authors prefer something else than just "negative peace". Sometimes, they want to add something more under the name of, e.g., "positive peace","absence of structural violence", or "social justice"; and in many cases, these values are even given precedence to negative peace.

We should have no illusions about unanimity when it comes to what is to be added to, or substituted for, "negative peace"; for not only do we generally find consensus among different political parties about "war" being bad (from which it does not always follow that "peace" is respectable), we hardly ever find any party speaking up against "social justice". This may be an expression of a widespread real consensus in the first case (at least as long as the issue of bellum justum is not brought on the agenda), but hardly in the second case. Here, the general consensus exists only about the meaning of "social justice" something that one holds for good and valuable; but only a very naive person would believe that a convinced liberal and a revolutionary socialist would mean the same thing with that phrase - at most, their meanings will overlap considerably.

So instead of patching over the differences that exist, we should carefully consider what conclusions to draw from the fact that they do. One possible conclusion might be to concentrate on that which commands a high degree of consensus in at least some sense: Peace as absence of war. Still, after the long-standing and well-taken criticism of that notion, that would appear less advisable, unless we insert some phrase such as "between nations", and hardly even then.

Another possibility would be to try to avoid any weighting implied by speaking of "minimization of violence" generally, since the problems entailed by such a weighting have not been solved, and probably never will be. The alternative would be to find some formula like "negative peace in combination with social justice in such and such a sense", or "negative peace, under the condition of absence of structural violence in sense x". For we hardly find any critic that is against negative peace as such, but only insofar as it stands in the way of positive peace, abolition of structural violence, or creation of social justice. As already mentioned, any attempt to define such a formula will demand a considerable amount of research as to what is empirically compatible or incompatible with what - but this is as it should be, for it at least means that we will be getting some research out of this approach, even if the consensus does not emerge.

To summarize, it is not likely that any real consensus will develop among peace researchers, once we leave the philosophically simple notion of negativ peace, taking upon ourselves to give some precise sense to the other notions. The only reasonable conclusion from this appears to be that we have to accept that the field of peace research is not well-defined and will never be so; in other words, peace researchers will go on doing different things - unless we want to introduce some kind of political censorship by means of abstract definitions.

From Research to Education

After this survey, it is hardly astonishing if educators are less in agreement with peace researchers than with other researchers. Firstly, there exists very little consensus even as to the circumscription of the field. And secondly, when it comes to substantial research results so far, the truth is, frankly speaking, that peace research does not have very much to teach. A considerable part of the peace research tradition so far consists of arguments as to what peace research should be, and another part of the tradition is a vast set of general models, which have, in general, rather little connection with the scanty empirical knowledge that has, after all, been accumulated.

Furthermore, an unsystematic survey of existing textbooks in English, German and Scandinavian gives rather much the same impression as attending many peace research conferences: A great proportion of what is published is about peace research rather than in peace research, and the rest hardly ever goes beyond presenting some fairly narrow area from one or two analytical perspectives.

This, in itself, is nothing remarkable; it would have been much more remarkable if we had found the opposite, peace research being so young and the field being so highly heterogeneous. It is questionable whether time has yet grown ripe for a synthesis; and if it has, at least for a survey of the contradictions between different schools in connection with their main findings, such a synthesis will certainly take time and energy to produce.

One important implication of this concerns the relationships between research and education: If the researchers themselves have hardly been able to produce any synthesis of the state of their subject, their complaints about the educators would seem to mirror their own frustration more than any inherent incompetence in the educators.

In order to arrive at a somewhat more manageable discussion, let us recall the distinction made above between two different types of meanings of the phrase "peace education". Since they present rather different problems, we shall take one at a time, starting with what we might call "peace research education"; i.e., presenting the results which emerge as to how peace (in one or another of the several senses) can be achieved and maintained. Here, the problems would, at a first glance, not appear to be very different from the problems well-known from other scientific fields that set themselves the task of disseminating their achievements to outside the university. A closer look will reveal some problems, however. First, the dissemination has so far not been very successful even within the universities; but that statement more and more belongs to history, at least institutionally speaking, since the number of universities with departments of peace research, or at least courses on peace research for students of traditional disciplines, is steadily increasing. University teaching is admittedly simpler than teaching on lower or on other levels for many reasons; and it would appear that the main problems emerging here concern peace researchers learning to express themselves, orally and in writing, in an understandable language. Textbooks are hardly necessary, and may be in more than one language; and on the university level, learning means in any case mostly individual study, so that the teachers (in most countries) are not required to have any training at all in teaching.

More problems emerge when we move over to two other fields: chools and adults. In terms of the close future, these are in all probability the first targets that are of greater importance, at least in the highly literate part of the world where some school attendance has been almost universal for a generation or more. Being much too little acquainted with educational problems in the rest of the world, the author therefore prefers to restrict himself to the part mentioned. To substantiate the statement just made, we may just mention the fact that peace research has started creeping into the secondary school curricula in some countries, and could be expected to do so in more; and in sheer numbers at least, secondary students tend to be much more likely to be recruited from some form of voluntary peace education than the adults. This argument, of course, gets even stronger, if and when peace research should start appearing on the primary school curricula.

It may probably be held as a fairly general rule that the more elementary the school level, the greater the demands made on the teacher, both in terms of formal requirements as to training in teaching and in terms of the pedagogical reality in the classroom. If we therefore restrict ourselves to discussing the secondary level here, this does not mean underrating the problems at the primary level; on the contrary, it should all the time be understood that, in all likelihood, these are not only different to a considerable extent, but also much more difficult.

Let us now state the new problems which emerge when we turn our attention from the university to secondary school level. The main ones appear to be the following,

1. The teacher no longer typically coincides with the researcher, so some kind of mediation has to take place, mostly in the national language of the school.

2. The degree of officialdom, as to what is to be taught and how, is usually considerably higher in school than at the university.

3. Since the students are no longer self-selected, the problem of making the presented material relevant to them becomes greater.

As a consequence of 1., peace researchers will have to produce comprehensive texts themselves, unless they prefer the situation where the writing of text books is done by teachers trying to get to grips with the variety of first-hand sources.

As a consequence of 2., these books (and other materials) will to some degree have to conform to the established standards applied by school book commissions, at least in the majority of countries where such exist.

Another consequence of 1. is that, at least in the short run, the teachers will have to get some university training, especially ,since the sprinkling of peace research in secondary curricula will occur as part of other subjects, e.g., social science or political education or history, rather than as a school subject in its own right. Since this, presumably short, training period will be the only contact between researchers and teachers, preparing it would require utmost care from the researchers, who cannot assume that the teachers share some kind of peace research ideology from the beginning, nor that they generally are willing to accept it once introduced to it. In the longer run, when the universities start exporting peace research students to the secondary schools as teachers, this may change.

This fact will also put limits on what is possible to achieve under 3.; at the very least, these limits are partly defined by the possibilities for cooperation from the teachers, even if it may be assumed that reasonably good material will not be entirely dependent on the teacher for understanding and acceptance. But at least we have to consider 1. and 3. together. For the texts produced by peace researchers may be definite products, or they may be only the first step in a process where the next step is that authors with pedagogical experience translate these texts to secondary school level. In any case, the researchers will be dependent on members of the school system in some step in the process.

And that leads us to a central question in this context: How can peace research material be made relevant and interesting to students, in this case at the secondary level? Since the present author lacks experience of teaching at this level, the following discussion will have to be highly aprioristic. Still, since the argument is mainly negative, that may not matter as much as it would otherwise have done.

First, the question lacks somewhat in precision, since it is not stated who is to judge what is relevant. While clearly the students are the only judges of what is interesting, one might propose several candidates as arbiters of relevance. If the students are the judges here, too, then any preparation of teaching must take into account what the students are actually interested in, which is again clearly a matter for a sociological survey.

But one can think of other judges, e.g., school authorities, peace researchers or peace activists, etc. We shall omit going into the detailed motives that may be latent or manifest in each group, restrict ourselves to making a general point: Here, as much as in the first case, criteria of relevance will depend on what goals one has in mind. For example, if the criteria of relevance are defined by the goal "knowledgeable participation in the political process", then priority should be given to knowledge about national foreign policy and the issues handled by it, as well as to knowledge about issues that one thinks should be handled by various branches of national foreign policy and expects to be taken care of by it,sooner or later. Advocates of this line may support it by, e.g., the assumption that an enlightened public will refuse to support such policies that increase the risk of war, or that make still worse the degree of unequal exchange on global level. This may be complete nonsense to a peace activist who has entirely given up the idea of affecting foreign policy via the traditional political channels as illusory. but who believes in making alternative foreign policy on the grassroot level, by symbolic or real action. For him, the criteria as to what is relevant knowledge will obviously be rather different, at least in some respects.

We do not purport to have any readymade solution to the problems just outlined; the main point here is that one does not need to have much of a bureaucratic mind to see that the problems do exist and will have to be taken care of somehow. It would probably be premature to try to hand out some general recipe, if only because the relative weight of different interested groups is so different in different countries, at the same time as the national school bureaucracies are permeable to external and internal influences to different degrees in different countries.

Some of the questions arising from the problems just mentioned might preferably be treated in the discussion of education for peace. Before going over to that, we would like to have a look at a question that deserves consideration in both contexts: For one should definitely question the frequent assertion that there has to be some kind of homology between forms and contents of teaching peace research;and this questionning should start with the version of the assertion that deals with peace research education (even if this is possibly only meant to be valid concerning education for peace).

Is peace research any different from geography or administration, when it comes to teaching it? Is it necessary to have social justice in the classroom (e.g., in terms of opportunities to speak) in order to make understandable ideas about social justice on the international level (e.g., in terms of division of production in the tertiary sector between rich and poor countries)? The immediate answer would appear to be no: There appears to be no logical connection between the different things (school democracy and imperialism). This, at the very least, means that one would have to undertake serious pedagogical studies before making any assertions as to the didactic effects of social changes in the school. To the knowledge of the present author, this has not been done in the case of peace research.

It may be objected that the structures just made are directed at a fictitious opponent, or that in any case they miss the essential point, since peace research teaching is at most one little part in peace teaching, teaching *for* peace. Here, the focal objective is not transmission of cognitions, but change of attitudes and training for social action: Peace action. Therefore, homology acquires a very much more important role in the didactic process: Whatever one may be able to teach people *cognitively*, it is hardly to be expected that it will be possible to create a positive attitude to peace and readiness to peace action as long as there is structural violence in the classroom.

Again, one may ask: Why not? A short glance at school history would seem to indicate that it has been possible in the past to indoctrinate school pupils (and, for that matter, adults) in, e.g., various versions of christianity, democracy and socialism, most often in settings rather dissimilar to the ideals preached. The objection to that is obvious: What has been taught has not been *real* religion, democracy, or socialism, but some truncated or perverted forms; and this leads us back to the question who is to define what is real, and what is not; which is obviously a political question in semantical disguise.

One may also propose another angle of the above objection. In this version, the crucial point is that the relevance between levels is fairly low (unless one consciously works at increasing the psychological relevance by means of simulations, parabolae, etc.), so that there is no inherent contradiction in, e.g., trying to transmit knowledge about and negative attitudes to the exploitation of nations and classes in a highly authoritarian classroom setting. Or one may teach about parliamentary democracy on the national level without having to introduce some parallel to it in school.

Instead of prolonging the chain of possible arguments and counter-arguments, we may declare them all irrelevant and conclude a point from that. For obviously the whole debate depends very much on whether one includes social relations in the classroom in *that which is to be learnt*, or merely regards them as *instrumental* for teaching peace and social justice. The objections reviewed so far have all concerned the second case, and lose most of their validity, if one applies them to the first; for then the debate becomes one of goals rather than of means.

But whether we include social relations in the classroom in the notions "peace" and "social justice" or not, there seem to be good reasons for underlining once more one of our initial points: As soon as we intend to use these notions for any practical purpose, such as transmitting attitudes and readiness for action, we cannot avoid clarifying the political definitions of these terms, i.e., by asking systematically, "peace and social justice according to whose definition and what model?"

And precisely because these beautiful words have so little common meaning, being able to be used for different purposes thanks to their ambiguity, one tends to suspect that the whole idea of peace education is just another disguise for preachers of all kinds; a blanket under which everybody is free to cultivate his pet ideas about man and society and expose other people to them, whether as open preaching or in the more shrewd form called discussion.

Of course, no reasonable objection to these activities can be raised: We all have and should have thoughts about man and society, and why should we keep them secret? The point is rather that, to the (unknown) extent to which this suspicion is well-founded, there appears to be little reason for us to wave the common banners of "peace" and "social justice"; for we are probably talking about different things.

Summary

If peace education means teaching peace research, what is taught will depend on the political preferences of those defining the curriculum. These preferences will be formulated as an interpretation of the words "peace" and "social justice". Still, it is possible to have some ideas about the task that lies ahead in the developed countries: The secondary school level. If peace education means education for peace, everything will depend entirely on the political preferences of the teacher, unless a lot more peace research goes into finding out what kind of education does actually lead to peace. In particular, it is doubtful whether education for peace will also have to be peaceful.
In both cases, it appears that the most important contribution towards creating the necessary prerequisites for peace education is more and better peace research. For only when that is produced will the efforts of professional educators be required and necessary.

II. Approaches to the Concretization of Peace Education

JOHAN GALTUNG (Norway)

ON PEACE EDUCATION

1. Introduction

When the peace research movement started at the end of the 1950s the universities did, in general, not welcome it. Rather, as has been demonstrated, the idea was picked up by research institutes, often those with no attachment to teaching institutions at all.

Today we see the result of this: a movement very strong on research, but weak on action, and also weak on education - although there are some very important exceptions1). There is nothing strange in this: the general imperative of peace was also taken up by action groups, and they have been similarly weak on research - and also on education. In short, despite the many professions to the contrary, peace education has probably not developed at all significantly during the last decades - as a contrast to the significant advances made both in peace research and in peace action.

One reason for this is definitely the strong hold several types of establishment in most countries have over all levels of education. What is being taught is a reflection of the past handed over in the present so as to secure a continuity into the future, and usually also in conformity with national idelogy and upper class thinking. Any sincere peace research or peace action will stand out as a contrast to this type of perspective. One might think that in this situation more peace research groups and peace action groups would have added peace education programs to their activities, but in general this has not happened, probably largely due to lack of funds, under-staffing, over-concern with basic research, and so on.

It is now high time that this sad tradition be broken, and that peace education be taken seriously. This would in fact only be part of a larger perspective in which peace research, peace action, and peace education would find each other and integrate into the natural unified whole. It is obvious that if they are kept apart this reflects division of labor tendencies in the surrounding society, and not any inner necessity. In fact, they could hardly be more intimately related. For instance, a very important theme in peace research would be research on peace action in past and present: how slavery was abolished, how socialist revolutions improved the material conditions of the masses, how the anti-colonization movements came into being and ultimately became a success in a limited sense, how mobilization against structural violence in general is possible. There could be research programs in peace education, not only research on images people have, but on how and why they change , with or without peace action.

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1) The two exceptions would be the Federal Republic of

Particularly significant in this connection could be research on unconventional communication, on many new forms of peace action that not only have a communicative aspect, but also can be seen as pure education at a high level.

And there are other linkages. Both peace research and peace education will ultimately lead to peace action if they are of any value, and any peace action will have its obvious research and education benefits.

Nonetheless, in our division of labor societies, it would not be strange if outside institutions were stronger in shaping the need for peace education and ultimately also its content, particularly if peace researchers and peace activists are caught unaware. All over the world today there is talk about peace education, chairs are appearing in several universities; there is a demand for peace curricula at all levels of education , and so on. Those who demand have only vague notions of what they ask for - and that is not their fault. It is our fault that we have not been able to present a sufficiently rich supply to participate actively in this process. But it is still not too late: we are as yet only at the beginning. It is in order to stimulate active participation in that process that this paper has been prepared.

Germany and the United States as two countries, and Unesco as to international organization. But so many initiatives could be mentioned. There is the 'Association Mondiale pour l'école Instrument de Paix', a non-governmental organization accredited to Unesco with programs in many countries, there is the 'Peace Education Committee' of the International Peace Research Association, there is the general initiative taken by Sodepax in Geneva, the Political Commission Justice and Peace which also is concerned with "education for peace", the peace education work discussed at the conference in Manila December 1971, organized by Unesco, there is Danilo Dolci's 'Nuovo Centro Educativo a Partinico' which will have a strong peace content, there is the large movement spearheaded by the Institute for World Order in New York (see for instance, Ian Baldwin,Jr. " Thinking about the New World Order for the Decade 199o", World Peace Report January 197o,pp.3-7; see also article by Michael Washburn " Peace Education is Alive - but Unsure if Itself", World Peace Report, November 1971; and the dicussion "What Should Kids be Taught About Peace and War?", World Peace Report, January 1971), and very many others. Of journals one should mention 'Ecole et Paix', published from Geneva, and 'Journal of World Education', published from Westbury, New York. And then there are all the universities, for instance University of Nottingham,with a very interesting program at its School of Education, related to the dynamism of Richard Hauser; The Chair of Peace Studies at Colgate University, N.Y.; and a multitude of programs in the Federal Republic of Germany. It is also symptomatic that the 1973 convention of the World Confedera-

2. The Form of Peace Education

It may seem strange to start with the form rather than with the content, but there is a simple reason: the form may open some new possibilities that should also be reflected in the content. We hope to show below that there is a very open range of opportunity available to all of us who want to go into peace education one way or another, and although this range definitely can be expanded, it is already today much wider than what is made use of: lectures at universities, pamphlets and small and big books, seminars and conferences, newspaper articles and magazine essays.

First a few general remarks about the form of peace education. It has to be compatible with the idea of peace,2) i.e. it has in itself to exclude not only direct violence, but also structural violence. Only rarely is education nowadays sold with direct violence; the days of colonialism and corporal punishment are more or less gone. But the structural violence is there,and it takes the usual forms: a highly vertical division of labor which in this case expresses itself in one-way communication; fragmentation of the receivers of that communication so that they cannot develop horizontal interaction and organize and eventually turn the communication flow the other way; absence of true multilateralitiy in the education endeavor. All this relates to form; and if in addition the content of education is included, the structural violence becomes even more apparent.

Peace education should be an attempt to do away with this. Any educational form suggested should be evaluated in terms of the structure it engenders; and the questions should always be asked: Does it permit a feedback? Does it bring people together in a joint endeavor rather than keeping them apart? Does it permit general participation, and is the total form of education capable of self-generated change? In short, is there dialogue, not only message in the education?

A second basic problem has to do with the relationship between peace education and the traditional media of education: primary, secondary and tertiary schooling. The question is usually asked: Why not get peace education into the curricula at all three levels? But it is not so obvious that the answer is yes. The case may well be that at all three levels the form of education is such that it would be contrary to the very idea of peace education, and hence harmful. It is naive to believe that the contents of a message will survive any form in which it is presented; the form may often be even more important than the content. Many people have had the common experience that when they went to school it was always what they read themselves in their leisure time that was most interesting, most appetizing, and provoked the deepest insights and most gratifying experiences.

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tion of Organizations of the Teaching Profession is devoted to "Education for Peace".

The moment something was put on the curriculum list it tended to accumulate dust and become gray and flat like everything else. What is left then is only an alibi function: society has done something about "peace", it is on the school curriculum.

In addition comes another factor: in many countries the school system is centralized under a Ministry of Education with almost dictatorial powers over the curricula, usually exercised through committees unable to reflect new ideas and to incorporate quickly the demands of younger generations. More likely than not, the average age for the committee members will be so high, and the capacity of self-generated change after their studies were concluded so low, that the committee at best will reflect dominant thinking at the time when they were young, at worst dominant thinking at the time when their teachers or professors were young. In a quickly changing society - and particularly in a society where conceptions of development, conflict, and peace are changing so quickly as today 3) - this is unacceptable. Something may be squeezed through a machinery of that kind, but at the risk of its becoming so flattened out in the process that even if the form of education were perfect, there would be no content left. Further, the validity of this type of analysis varies from country to country - and may be particularly low in federal countries or in countries that for some other reason rank high on decentralization. In such countries there will always be one state, province, district, city, or municipality more advanced than the others, more ready to experiment with new things. Even if it is done only in one school or only in one class it can be valuable because of the demonstration effect.

Still another difficulty is the strong tie existing between traditional educational institutions at any level and the social institution of sorting people into social categories, even social classes. This tie is, of course, the examination.To use education as a sorting device is problematic from the point of view of peace education, since peace itself is seen as antithetical to vertical social relations and hierarchies in any form. Hence, peace education would be seen as a way of achieving, individually and collectively, a higher level of consciousness, of awareness of social reality - not as a mechanism for achievement and social classification. There should be no examinations of any kind in connection with peace education, no basis for an emerging class of peace specialists. Such devices may fit in military aca-

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2) Another expression of this point is found in Johan Galtung "Education for Peace", editorial, Journal of World Education, September 1972.

3) It might perhaps be pointed out that conceptions of development, perhaps also conflict, seem to be changing much more quickly than conceptions of peace - which still seem to be related to balance of power and disarmament

demies and business schools - not in any institutions to promote peace insight.

Generally, however, we are thinking here of other settings than the traditional institutions for primary, secondary, and tertiary schooling. Let us then turn to the various forms of peace education that could be imagined, and start with the simplest.

1. Programmed teaching . This is an excellent tool for self-instruction 4) , based on the idea of presenting material, asking questions on the basis of the material, and instructing the reader not to turn the page (where he will find the answer) before he has made up his mind as to the answer. If right, he continues; if wrong, he goes back to the preceding page. Many variations of this theme can be imagined.

One idea would be to use the teaching machine for training in thinking (and implicitly speaking and writing) about development, conflict, and peace. Concepts are indispensible tools here, and they can be taught only if in addition to concise presentations there are lots of examples and much empirical material from today's world and the world of history. In the first part of the book there could be an emphasis on concepts and materials, and in the next part an emphasis on the application to concrete cases. The concrete cases could be real or imagined, but in either case the idea would be to train the reader in diagnosis of a concrete situation, and in proposals for action. By the time he comes to that part he should be equipped with a repertory of diagnostic tools, a repertory of proposals, and some theory as to what action to propose in what type of situation. The basic point about the concrete exercises would then be to stimulate awareness of indicators that can be used for a diagnostic conclusion, and to practice the theory. The concrete situations could, then, range from family conflicts to the great problems of the contemporary world.

What, then, happened to the idea of peace education without structural violence? Would this not be the most authoritarian form conceivable, imparting the mutually fragmented readers the idea that there is a unique way of defining the problematics of development, conflict and peace, and a unique way of approaching unique situations: viz., the way written up by the author(s) ? Yes, this would be the case unless one added more elements to this picture.

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ideas, without going much deeper into the origins of peacelessness.

4) This is, of course, also known as "teaching machines".

First, the reader should at all points be encouraged to criticize the content of the programmed teaching, hopefully with a view of improving it (one improvement might be to discard it, if all or most readers are basically dissatisfied). For this purpose, even typographical provisions might be made - empty pages, special sections to be torn out and returned to the author with comments, etc. In short, some type of branched programming 5).

Second, this could be used as a tool in connection with a summer camp, a class course, etc., where individual work and group work would alternate, and there would be ample opportunity for horizontal learning as well as for collective feedbacks and general participation. Actually, the teaching machine could have a built-in dialogue. Questions are asked on one page; on the next page follows a discussion of various answer alternatives rather than " correct" answers. But there are also lots of facts for which the more authoritarian approach might be appropriate.

Third, the book could be organized in such a way that the reader could benefit from parts of it without having to take in all of it - the reader could himself decide to what extent he wanted to be"indoctrinated".

This being said, it is felt that teaching machines could be prepared at three levels: for participants in primary, secondary, and tertiary education, without necessarily trying to squeeze programmed teaching into the curriculum anywhere.

2. Peace games. We are of course thinking of peace games as a counter to the war games used in military organizations, in Ministries of War and Defense, and so on. The word "game" is here conceived of in a very general way. A peace game could be so constructed that it had in it elements of games of skill, games of strategy, and even games of chance. More basic, however, is that games would appeal to people who learn better when exposed to tactile and visual stimuli (dice, pawns, any kind of small things to be moved, exchanged, handed out, etc.); such games have the additional advantage that they may gain a momentum of their own and develop a dynamic that could be highly instructive. Moreover, although one-person games would be useful, games should be constructed in such a way that they could also be played by two or more persons.

A typical game could consist of a number of develop-

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5) One difficulty with programmed teaching is that it is costly, and once much money has been invested, for instance in a book that is very expensive in its production, the entire concept tends to become rigid. Hence there is much need for the search for cheap procedures in this field.

ment and conflict elements described in various ways, and handed out to the players. Not all permutations of such elements would be equally meaningful, for the task of the player would be to see a meaning in the particular deal he has gotten. He would then have,as his task,to find some kind of solution, on the basis of the definition of the situation in his deal, and on the basis of what he knows or gets to know about the situation as it looks from the point of view of the deals obtained by other players. The game would be highly open-ended, the player should be instructed to add to it and subtract from it himself, and the basic point would be to develop his analytical skills as well as his skills for proposal making.

Moreover, the games could be tied to the teaching machines and be constructed in such a way that the winner of the game at the same time is the person who has best understood the profundity of the concepts developed. In that sense there would basically be games of skill, and there should be some clear termination points making it possible to declare that the game has been "solved" and the "winner" found. If capitalistic society has been able to develop a challenging game like Monopoly, a game that has fascinated generations of children and adults, then a more peace-oriented society should be able to develop at least one equally fascinating game. But there is of course the basic difficulty that games usually are zero sum in the sense that he who does not win loses; and this is in itself isomorphic with the type of activity engaged in by capitalists as well as by military - no minor reason why so many games are about profit and violence one way or the other.

3. Audio-visual means. Clearly, concepts, empirical data, situation descriptions, etc. as indicated above can all be given a visual form, as a very minimum in the form of lists and the types of drawings a lecturer will make on his blackboard. These could, in turn, be made available as sets of slides, as filmstrips, as movies (8 mm, 16 mm) and ultimately as video cassettes. Like the peace game they might or might not be linked to teaching machines. However, one little point that is important here is that the slide projector is probably the most widely disseminated of all of the instruments,a good reason why slides might be given top priority. Of course, peace education would also have to enter the field of video cassettes. but it will still take some time before cassettes will gain anything like the dispersion enjoyed by slide projectors.

These could all be made available with some provision for feedback attached to them. The goal would be never to make a teaching instrument accessible without feedback provided for. The important thing would then be to see to it that feedback is really taken seriously, and not filed away as the content of "complaint books" and "complaint boxes" often are.

4. Tactile-visual means. As a combination of 2. and 3., partly as a "peace game", partly as audio-visual means, or rather as tactile-visual means, would come the use of structural models. By that we mean the type of tool chemists use when they explore the structure of chemical compounds, by means of balls and rods. The balls would stand for "actors", individual and collective, and the rods for interaction relations of different types. The task would be to construct models of social structures 6) with a high level of equity, participation, and other peace values. This could be made as a game with a "solution", or completely open-ended, as a tool to facilitate creative imagination in the field. The instructions would show how traditional, authoritarian structures can be represented, and give some hints about how to proceed with new social structures - organizational, domestic, and global.

5. Open air university. This type of university, the TV university, is definitely a highly viable form for the future 7), although it raises the same problem as TV does in general because of the feudal structure of that medium of communication. In a sense MacLuhan's idea about the global village is more valid than he himself makes it: TV etc. not only makes for proximity, it also makes for a reinforcement of centralization and vertical structure in general; in short, a village, not a commune. In TV modern governments and business have found what medieval princes must have been dreaming of: a one-way source of communication with virtually no feedback, impinging on fragmented viewers, and with no possibility for general participation. The telephone feedback in the form of questions is of some help in this connection, but not as long as it is mainly used for asking questions. The same applies to newspaper reaction the day after an important program; for such reactions to be meaningful, feedback has to be immediate, not delayed by one night's newspaper printing.

On the other hand, the possibilities available for disseminating critical and criticizable material are great These only have to be supplemented by a number of devices - such as opportunities for viewers to meet, and above all opportunities for viewers to meet with the lecturers, if such persons are still to be made use of. Moreover, this should not only be by means of written communication, but in person

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6) For a theory of this approach, see Johan Galtung, "Chemical Structure and Social Structure: An Essay on Structuralism" (Oslo, 1969, mimeo, 26 pp.).

7) An excellent proposal in this field has been made by Vithal Rajan for The Open-Air University, London, "War and Peace: A One Year Adult Education Course in Peace Theory" (mimeo).

to person encounters. Obviously, the condition for this to happen is a country with relatively dense population and both good and cheap means of transportation as well as communication. Such conditions are more frequently met in developed than in developing countries, one more example of how structural violence often is more easily counteracted in the countries that have benefitted most from it.

Needless to say, this form does not in any sense contradict any of the preceding forms, but can be used to absorb all of them.

6. Individual research. However well intended, all the methods mentioned so far nevertheless will always have a relatively clear basic structure: an educational message that passes from a sender to a receiver. Feedback, countercurrents may be created and they are important, but the asymmetry persists.

The only basic way of correcting it is not by having students talk back or by having a 'dialogue', but by having everybody create his own insights. This process is, by definition, research. The task of peace education, hence, is not just to structure peace research or disseminate it, but also to stimulate it so that it can find its own forms. Peace research should be a part of peace education, and in practice this is not too difficult. Almost all politics around us have peace implications.Any student can assemble data on arms and trade policies, and make his evaluation of them; or he can try to develop his own image of the peaceful world; or he can develop his own proposals for concrete, peace-oriented strategies and compare them with accounts of past actions.

In doing so, one would also contribute to demystifying research. What researchers do is not so different from what people in general do when they try to come to grips with a phenomenon, explicitly and systematically. There is no discontinuous borderline , protected by the mystique of diplomas and membership of professional associations. Research is a relation to the surrounding world more than a profession; in fact, that critical, searching, and creative relation is often lost through scientific professionalization. This is particularly important in connection with conflict and peace - for only witn a conscious and creative approach to conflict can a sufficiently broad repertory of conflict resolution methods be developed inside the individual and make him less manipulable in concrete conflict situations - and less prone to direct violence.

7. Group research. What is said above also applies to research teams, but when research is organized in teams, some additional scope for peace education is added. A team has to have some form of organization, and the question arises: how to organize peace research so that it can in itself be an example of a peace structure ? The easy way out is to

organize it as a group of students; it becomes more difficult when people who vary considerably in quantity and quality of experience in such matters are involved. If one wants an equitable structure with no bossing, no dictates as to what should be done and how, but a genuine dialogue, then there are problems; and efforts to solve these problems can give a direct insight in what peace is about. However, it is also important that such efforts do not inspire an atmosphere of self-seeking and mutual distrust, but are carried out in a genuine atmosphere of horizontal cooperation. The group will have to find a balance between efforts devoted to producing research, and efforts devoted to achieve a peace structure in the group - either takes time.

8. Drama. Some form should be found to capture in the age-old medium of a play some of the drama unveiled in development, conflict, and peace research. A drama has dynamism, hence it could be used to depict dynamic phenomena within these three fields.

One way which might be attractive would be to have a rotating stage and divide it into four quarters. Each quarter would represent a social form - for instance a feudal, a capitalist, a socialist, or a communist society; or (not too different) a conservative, liberal, communal or pluralist society 8). Each of these social forms is portrayed by certain roles that relate to each other in the way typical of these societies. To get at the structural message the same actors might play corresponding roles in the four societies to show how extremely differently they behave, how different the meaning of everything they do would be, all according to which society they were acting in.

Introduce, then, into these four societies what is basically the same type of conflict, and let the societies act on them. One thing which might be stimulating would be to show that the society able to handle one type of conflict may be unable to handle another. Development problems, conflict dynamism, peace problematics could all be taken into a format of this kind.

More significant, however, would be to find some form whereby the public would be encouraged to participate. It may well be that for that purpose, another form should be used: simply taking a conflict known to everybody, a current issue, and present it as open-ended theater. We would interpret that as a theater where the drama is introduced by professional actors, but there is no ending. The public is invited to come into it, and try to act out various continuations. For this to happen some members of the public may have to join at a half-structured, intermediate phase in order to get "warmed up". It may also be that till the very end there have to be some'professional' actors present to keep things going,

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8) For a discussion of these societies, see Johan Galtung "Pluralism and Future of Human Society (Oslo, 1971 mimeo, 70 pp.)

highly capable of improvising, of presenting in action dialogue whatever the "amateur" actor might produce. In principle this should not be too different from a jam session with some amateurs and some professionals, only that the content is more immediately interpretable.

Clearly, for anything like this to be developed extremely close cooperation between researchers and playwrights would be necessary so that content and form will be organically related. And we repeat: the purpose is to develop social awareness, not to develop conflict technology.

9. Summer schools in peace research. The summer school idea is not very original. It has been practiced with considerable success in a variety of fields, and in the problems of peace particularly by such institutions as the International Peace Academy Committee (IPAC: Vienna, summer 1970, and Helsinki, summer 1971 and 1972) and the Italian Pugwash Group. The former unfortunately became too one-sided politically, leaning towards a conflict-management oriented in traditional western conception of development conflict and peace 9) - and the latter has been somewhat narrow in its perpective (arms control and disarmament mainly). But important experiences have been gained, and the whole idea is definitely one to be continued.

Of the many experiences gained by the International Peace Academy we would single out three:

a) mixture of theoreticians and practitioners, and if possible also of theory and practice

A summer school of this kind should be a place where those who work theoretically and those who work practically can meet and exchange insights. The difficulties in connection with dialogues of this kind are universal, and well known-and a polarization along the theoretician/practitioner axis very easily develops. If this can be overcome, if the theoreticians can stop judging the practitioners as theoreticians and the practitioners stop judging the theoreticians as practitioners, something very important will ensue. For they are both unfortunate consequences of the division of labor in society.

However, even more significant is to link a summer school, which will inevitably have a theoretical overtone, to some type of practice . It is difficult to see how this can meaningfully be done throughout a session that lasts one, maximum two months - except by some contrived work in the traditional form of a little amateur community development in the neighborhood.More meaningful would be the simple idea of conceiving of a summer school as something that ties together experiences gained throughout the year. In other words, the summer school in Year 1 could serve to establish a vocabulary and a set of problems that each participant would bring to his work in the coming year, and the summer school in Year 2 would be the place where these experiences could be drawn together and interpreted. Year 2 for one group could at the same time be Year 1 for the next group and the two groups could mix together to some extent.

b) the significance of combining the general and the specific

By this we mean that there should be scope for general theory and general practical guidelines, as well as for highly concrete analysis of specific situations. When it comes to these specific situations no effort should be spared to bring them as close to the participants as possible, for instance by hiring representatives of all important factions present, even to the point when they come dangerously close to enacting the conflict for the eyes of the participants. Another possibility is simulation games, perhaps also by means of role playing 10) (but never asking a person to play a role which he abhors, that would be an infraction of the integrity of his personality). The interplay between the general and the specific is highly meaningful, although theoreticians perhaps will lean more towards the general and practitioners more towards the specific as their primary preference.

c) the significance of combining empirical, critical and constructive approaches

This is not by itself very difficult. It only means that specific attention is given not only to the facts of a case, but, equally explicitly, to what one wants to obtain. Facts may be criticized in the light of these values; approaches taken may be evaluated; and when they fall short of the goal, alternative proposals should be worked out. Thus, one experience in the International Peace Academy in Helsinki was the tremendous success of proposal brain-storming sessions 11). They can be geared to a concrete topic like an

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9) For a critique of the International Peace Academy, see editorials by Asbjørn Eide and Johan Galtung, "Instant Research on Peace and Violence, 1971 pp. 79 - 83

10) The most promising approach here seems to be the International Simulation Games, in the tradition started by Harold Guetzkow.

11) The idea is very simple: to ask all participants as a conclusion of four weeks with discussions of peace theory and peace practice to come up with some image of their ideal world and the steps needed to attain it. Since most people are asked to present their image of the present world and how to criticize and analyze it, it is not strange that there is an untapped reservoir in the direction indicated.

ongoing conflict, or they can just be open-ended, inviting each participant to present his proposals as to how he would like to see the world changed and why. The important aspect of this is to provide a setting in which participants have a chance to develop creative faculties constrained by empirical and critical considerations 12).

1o. World universities and peace research. We see the world university as an effort to escape from the traditional strait-jacket universities have been put into when it is explicitly or implicitly assumed that they serve the interests of the nation state that pays for them 13). The world university is an effort to create something transnational, where the loyalties of staff and students would be global rather than national. Thus, as a structure, it should be of particular interest for peace research which - however one would prefer to define it - is at least not seen as a means to further specific national interests.

The world university can be conceived of in at least two different ways that do not exclude each other: as a concrete structure, a campus located somewhere in the world drawing its faculty and students from all corners and layers; or as a network of interconnected universities, institutes, and other institutions for higher learning and research. Obviously, the former can be some kind of headquarters for the latter, which would need some element of coordinating administration anyhow. This is not to say that faculties of law are not perfectly capable of cooperating themselves by means of the appropriate professional association, but it is dubious whether faculties of law and faculties of social science from different universities would be able to cooperate without some minimum central locus. The traditional loci of cooperation have been the university for different disciplines in institutes located at the same place, or the association for people working within the same discipline at different places. The world university connecting different disciplines and places is something new and more difficult.

To design a curriculum for a world university of type I above is challenging and yet not particularly difficult. Obviously, it would have to be done on a team basis, and it may very well be that one of the first to do so will be the world university located in Dubrovnik, organized as an inter-

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12) For a concrete proposal combining the elements treated under this heading, see Johan Galtung, "Towards a World Peace Academy, A Proposal", Proceedings of the International Peace Research Association, Third General Conference, 1970, p 259.

13) In Norway, for instance, an oath of loyalty to the King is required of university professors.

university organization (as opposed to intergovernmental), and administered by the University of Zagreb (the capital of Kroatia where Dubrovnik is also located) 14). That this could be meaningful for staff and students coming together from many places, across conflict barriers and so on is hardly to be doubted; but is not in itself terribly innovative.

More challenging, in a sense, would be to work out something based on a world university of type II. There is the already well-known formula of staff and students rotating clockwise and counter-clockwise within a set of cooperating institutes, usually on a bilateral, but sometimes also on a multilateral basis. The difficulty with this formula is that only few persons get an opportunity to benefit from the diversity of approaches. Another approach is therefore outlined below.

The idea is simple enough: to provide mobile transportation between the institutes and let the mobility itself be a part of the educational message. This is not the same as the idea frequently found in US universities of having a "European campus" (or some other combination of "mother country" and "daughter continent"). The idea would rather be that one builds on a set of cooperating institutions for education and research, aquires some good means of transportation like bus or charter plane, and provides for a stay of two months or something like this at each place. Students and staff would at each place, then, be part of the local teaching venture - but the latter would obviously also be geared to this particular event. The important thing is that the group is not kept apart, isolated from the local educational population - but as well as possible integrated with them. If the bus solution is made use of, the possibilities of using it for excursions in addition to transportation from place to place, excursions with an educational content, would be numerous 15).

Obviously, this type of plan can easily be combined with what was already mentioned under (7) above; it could start with a summer school and end with a summer school as a more integrative venture. It is generally assumed that very few places would have material to offer for more than two months anyhow, and that most institutions of higher learning only take this content and drag it out for two semesters, two years or even more. This telescope type of education would probably be a highly effective one. At the same time the

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14) This initiative is headed by Professor Ivan Supek, and has a council of representatives from several universities.

15) For an elaboration of this proposal, see Johan Galtung, "Training of Peace Specialists, A Proposal", International Peace Research Newsletter, No. 2, 1968.

local institutions should benefit a lot from it in terms of the feedback they would get from staff and students increasingly many-sided in their outlook as they traverse the world range of basic perspectives, following their itinerary.

3. The Content of Peace Education

With this arsenal of possibilities at one's disposal, what then, can be communicated? The answer to this is very closely related to a certain conception of what peace research is about - in fact, it is only by keeping peace research, peace education, and peace action together that a strong formula for the content can be developed.

One way of looking at it would be as follows, based on the distinction between five phases in any peace research project.Of course, there are divided opinions about this; many might agree with most, but probably very few would agree with all.

The five phases are seen as follows: 16)

1. ANALYSIS
2. GOAL-FORMULATION
3. CRITIQUE
4. PROPOSAL-MAKING
5. ACTION

The first point is what everybody would assume will be included in a peace education program: analysis of our present, real world, describing its basic facts to the extent that they are relevant for peace problems, and at the same time pointing to major trends. The analysis would be dynamic in the sense of presenting a time perspective, as well as static in the sense of giving an image of the present situation - with regard to such major factors as the war system and the preparation for it, and everything related to problems of equity and freedom - both of them antonyms of dominance, but with different ideological traditions. Thus, this is the place where relevant facts will be presented, and also theoretically explained - always having in mind that there is more than one theory for the same collection of data.

If this were all, peace research would not differ from any other social science found today, and peace education would not be any different from education in, say, physics or geography either. Hence, it is the subsequent four points that add the special flavor to both of them.

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16) See Johan Galtung, "Empiricism, Criticism, Constructivism: Three Approaches to Scientific Activity"(mimeo, 1972, 24 pp.).

Goal-formulation is an indispensable part of peace education. There has to be some concreteness, some explicitness in the idea of peace. It is not enough to say that peace is absence of something or other; much more concrete images must be given. Peace research, being born inside the tradiional empiristic tradition, whether of the conservative or progressive varieties, has not been good at this point. Rather, analysis has prevailed at the expense of goal formulation, the latter being rejected rather summarily as "utopianism". And yet it is exactly these kinds of images that throughout history have driven people into great action, for instance into the types of movements mentioned in the introduction 17).

As a part of this aspect of peace research and peace education comes the general question of whether this goal is viable. Is the goal just any type of utopia, or is it a viable utopia? For instance, is it possible to have both absence of direct violence, equity in social interaction, and freedom for a considerable degree of human self-expression or self-realization? Or, is it true, as some might assert, that of these three values we can only have two and we shall have to chose which two; or, even as the pessimists might assert, we can only have one, or possibly even none at all? This type of discussion is rarely found in any educational curriculum at any level, probably causing a tremendous crippling of individual and collective human imagination in search for a better future.

Third, the critique. For any type of critique to be of any interest, both data and values have to be present, and they would be made available in the first and second phases, respectively. The values then become like a net thrown over our poor world, leading to very concrete conclusions in terms of highly value-oriented language, where nobody would shun away from terms like "good" and "bad", or terms considerably more explicit than that.

This third phase is more than analysis; it is diagnosis based on the more static aspects of the empirical analysis, and prognoses based on the more dynamic aspects. In so doing, an effort should always be made to use the same type of language for the preferred world defined as a goal, and for the criticized world of the present and possibly even worse futures - worse, that is, under the assumption that not sufficiently active counterpressure is brought to bear on the present.

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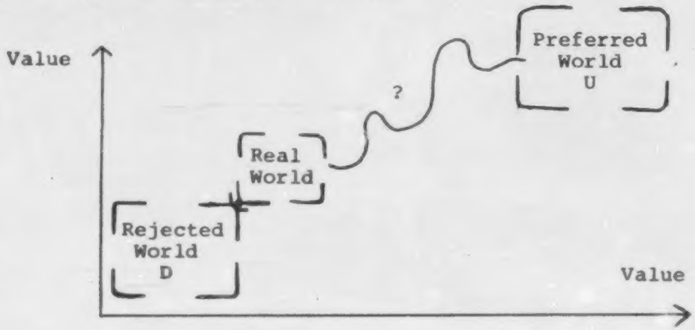
17) However, a basic finding in the"Images of the World in the Year 2000"project, coordinated at the European Social Science Center in Vienna, is exactly the very low level of future-oriented thinking, especially in the field of political affairs, that seems to prevail - according to the results of 9.000 interviews in 10 countries, 8 of them in Europe.

After these three phases we would end up with something that diagramatically would look like Fig. 1.

Figure 1. Analysis, goals and critique



Some values are used to define a preferred world, but these values are also of the type that can be used to describe the real world 18). Examples would be exactly the values already mentioned: degree of absence of direct violence, and degree of absence of various kinds of structural violence. Then, the real world is also indicated, and a possibility of an even more highly criticized world spelt out. (U and D stand for utopia and dystopia, respectively.)

Fourth, how does one get from the real world to the preferred world? This is a question of finding a transition path, which, in turn, is a question of proposals about what to do, who should do it, when should it be done, where should it be done, and why. Proposal-making should be seen as a basic part of any peace education program. Indeed, no part would be more ideal for general participation than this one, particularly since there is little tradition in the field so that nobody is much more of an expert than others. Any successful peace education program would be one where the participants really would feel the tension between the preferred and the real world, and the danger threatening from the rejected world - feeling it so intensely that proposal-making becomes a necessity.

This then leads into the fifth phase: peace action. One cannot suddenly interrupt, truncate a logical process because it can no longer be contained within the article, book, paper and pencil and discussion phases, but is driven by its own inner necessity into something much more concrete. This does

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18) This is the basic idea of the social indicator movement: to present values as dimensions that also can be used for ordinary descriptive analysis.

not necessarily mean that we would advocate as a part of each and every peace education program a major demonstration, service in some type of peacekeeping or peace corps activity (if that is defined as relevant), or anything else very specific. Rather, this would mean a search for completely new forms of peace education, so far not developed. In any other educational program it is usually taken for granted that something non-verbal belongs to the program: the laboratory exercises in chemistry, physics, and biology; the visit to civic and social institutions as a part of any education in the institutions of one's own society, and so on. Thus, it may well be that action in this case could be linked to one's own educative group as a minimum, and take the form of conflict creation to increase the level of consciousness 19), and conflict resolution to decrease the likelihood of violence. Or, one could search other contexts, any social situation where this would be meaningful, such as the educational institution itself. There are problems connected with this, but they are probably mainly problems because we have so little experience with this type of education and activity at all. Also, equally needless to say: this would be the point where peace education, peace action and peace research would really come together. For instance, the pupils at a school might decide to recognize an incipient nation (say, Bangladesh in 1971) before their own government does so. If thousands of schools did the same according to clear peace criteria, this might even be an important form of non-governmental foreign policy, and hence democratize.

In the concrete school situation, as already mentioned, there are many examples of structural violence, hence many areas in which problems of peace can be actualized. It is probably naive to think that any real peace education can be contained within the school systems of most countries without having some repercussions on that system. Of course, the traditional teaching, viz., peace studies in the form of studies of peaceful men (Christ, Francis of Assisi, Gandhi, Schweitzer, Martin Luther King) has had a heavy emphasis on their beliefs and attitudes rather than on their action and behavior. But this would mean a focus on actors and not also on structures, and hence be unacceptable from the point of view of peace thinking. Any analysis of structures would lead to pupils and students using this analytical machinery on the school situation. In so doing they would start asking questions about division of labor (why are we treated as raw material to be processed through the school machinery?), about participation (why do we not participate more in the decision about how schools are run and curricula made?), and so on. In other words, students may not only have demands concerning the content of school curricula (why do we not learn about arms races? about our country's military-industrial complex? about

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19) See the excellent article by Herman Schmid, "Peace Research and Politics", Journal of Peace Research , No. 3, 1968.

the weapons export of our country? about the true relations between rich and poor countries?) but also about school structure. In either case a higher level of consciousness among the students will have the same effect at the secondary level of education as it has had at the tertiary level in terms of strikes, boycotts, etc. to back up demands. And just as for the university level it will be referred to as "student unrest" and not as it should, as "teacher rest".

4. Conclusion

In a general paper like this it does not make sense to go more in detail with the content. Any such effort has to have a scientific address. Let us only mention that the author has found it fruitful to divide courses, seminars, discussions, etc. on peace in four parts :

- Development - which gives an opportunity to present basic values, basic trends, the state of affairs in the world.
- Conflict - which gives an opportunity to discuss what happens when values - goals and interests- are in conflict, to discuss conflict creation, conflict dynamics, and conflict resolution.
- Peace - which gives an opportunity to discuss how development, and a creative approach to conflict can come together, in the fight against direct as well as structural violence.
- Future - which gives an opportunity to project all of this on the screen of the future, analyzing trends, making proposals for action.

But everyone has to develop his own format; there is no standard format that should be adhered to - that would be contrary to the whole idea.

Finally, one note about the role of peace education. It should not be exaggerated. Peace education is one peace factor among many, and probably not a very significant one. Much more important are specific forms of peace action. One may object that peace education is needed for peace action, but the relation is not so simple. Peace education will work on the mind, although it may also imply some training; but it is a fundamental bias of intellectuals to believe that man thinks first and then unleashes well-considered action. Very often he acts first; and if it works, he may develop a theory about it; if it does not work, some rationalization can take place.

That does not mean that a much higher level of peace consciousness may not change this state of affairs. The fact is that we do not even know what that would mean, what kind of world that would be. But it would certainly be a world where people would be less manipulable: and it is for that kind of world that peace education should be a contribution.

HANS NICKLAS and ANNE OSTERMANN (FRG)

REFLECTIONS ON A CURRICULUM OF PEACE EDUCATIOM

1. Introductory Remarks

First of all let us express some misgivings about the term "peace education". One cannot be educated for peace: peace is a condition attainable only through social action. A capacity for peace action may perhaps be gained through the educational process. Social action can certainly not mean, in a given societal situation: education for "organized peacelessness".

In recent years, peace research has developed from concepts restricted in terms of content, to differentiated analytical approaches. The level of scientific peace research today has surpassed the first attempts of the 1950s - we need only mention e.g. the term "structural violence" introduced by Johan Galtung, or the studies made by Dieter Senghaas about "organized peacelessness". 1) Experiments in peace education up to now have reflected this developmental process within peace research. These experiments are related to the respective level of research and share their limits.

2. Stages in Peace Research

A first period of conceptualization started in the early 1950s. The preamble to the Unesco Constitution could be regarded as the guideline for these attempts: "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed." This period was characterized by research about the problem of prejudice, analyses of national stereotypes, and the comparison of schoolbooks. An example of the latter was the work done at the International Schoolbook Institute in Braunschweig.

This approach is necessary and important, but it can only lead to limited results. Certainly the dynamics of prejudice and the existence of national stereotypes play an important role for the escalation of conflicts, but the dependency relationship is by no means monolinear: in the same way as national prejudices can help escalate international conflicts, structures of emotional hatred and negative images of the enemy can reciprocally be created by manipulation, e.g.

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1) Cf. Johan Galtung: Gewalt, Frieden und Friedensforschung. In: Dieter Senghaas (Ed.): Kritische Friedensforschung. Frankfurt/M. 1971, pp 55 - 104
Dieter Senghaas: Abschreckung und Frieden. Studien zur Kritik organisierter Friedlosigkeit. Frankfurt/M. 1969

to legitimize armament costs or to create a readiness (attitudinal support) in the population for violent conflicts.

This approach is mainly limited because it suggests a scheme of psychological explanation which concentrates on the individual. It assumes that peace will be assured if only all prejudices in the individual are dismantled and all national biases destroyed. Wars are made by man regardless of their dependency on societal or psychological determinants. However, the experience of the individual to whom war appears as an overpowering event, an earthquake or the day of the last judgement, contains an objective element. As Alexander Mitscherlich put it, wars are natural catastrophes which are initiated by man.

The problem of war cannot be reduced to psychological phenomena of the individual. Wars are not the total sum of individual aggression. Thus, there is an interrelationship between individual aggression and social organization of violence; collective aggression cannot be seen as a mere summation of individual aggression. 2)

For this reason, education for peace should not be confined to analyzing the individual aggressive potentialities or to rationally explaining and debunking individual prejudices. A peace education reduced to the psychological level is bound to fail because it views man only as an isolated individual, without seeing the social system which mediates the individual structures.

The second phase of peace research is characterized by a more political science-oriented approach. War is understood as a political phenomenon of the international system, and the central categories of such peace conceptions are integration and association. The point of departure is that peace can be secured only by strengthening international cooperation within the dominant international system. A first step towards such an "associative" peace could be cooperation among equal social and national groupings which furthers mutual dependency. Suprainternational organizations should assume the function of bridging governmental and nongovernmental organizations. The aim is to arrive at the highest possible level of integration within the international organizations. Basic to all integrational approaches is the thesis that integrative, cooperative, and international movements can be viewed as positive contributions to peace within the international system's policy of nuclear deterrence and therefore in the long run,

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2) Dieter Senghaas: l.c.p. 258

they have capabilities of becoming dominant.3)

For peace education this means: In which way is it possible to get to know new objects of loyalty? How is it possible to support international loyalty, i.e. the loyalty to international organizations, instead of the existing national loyalty? What is the effect of international contacts, especially those of functional significance for the individual (occupation, interest)?

In the third phase, the main emphasis is put on the analysis of "organized peacelessness": the consciously created and natural dynamics of violence and its connection with societal structures of domination. Differentiated concepts for analyzing the intra-societal and international structures of power now become possible, making apparent the double aspect of collective peacelessness, namely that peacelessness is built into the social structure of nation-states and at the same time, institutionally anchored in the present organization of the community of states. This level of research, on the one hand, sheds light on the problems of "education in a peaceless world"; on the other hand, it opens up possibilities for a realistic peace education as part of a strategy for changing contemporary intra-societal as well as international reality. In such a situation, peace education has a chance to further a potential for critical consciousness, provided that it makes the criticism of the conditions of collective peacelessness and of the international deterrence system the crucial point of its self-assessment. 4)

As long as organized peacelessness exists, the content of an education for peace must follow up reflections about the political and societal preconditions of collective disequilibrium. The close connection of peace education with the development of a potential for critical consciousness reveals the convergence of peace education with an emancipatory political education.

Characteristic for this third phase of peace research is also a substantial and praxeological expansion of the area. Peace research today covers not only violence of war but also analytical levels from the individual to the international system. Consequently, peace praxeology today does not focus exclusively on problems of international conflict resolution.

Education for peace is therefore a part of the "praxeology" of peace research. While there are debates within the different disciplines of the social sciences as to whether

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3) Eva Senghaas-Knobloch: Frieden durch Integration und Assoziation. Literaturbericht und Problemstudien. Stuttgart 1970

4) l.c.p. 262

science can provide a guideline for social practice, the aspect of practice is constitutive for peace research through its historical development and through its definition of science as well. Peace research must be a practice-oriented science if it wants to follow its own claims. This practice orientation has to be clarified on various analytical levels: at the level of the socialization of the young child, and at the level of the learning capacity of whole systems as well.

3. A Peace Research Curriculum

Here, a few remarks about the fundamental problem of a curriculum of peace education would seem in order.

A curriculum of peace education should not be structured as a catalogue of topics to be learned, but according to the goals of education. In determining educational goals, three points of view have to be mediated with the structure of learning:

1) The educational goals must take as their point of departure the concrete needs and interests of the learning subjects (curricular aspect).
2) They must be deduced from the political interest of peace research which defines itself as part of a critical social science (scientific aspect).
3) It must be possible that the place of peace education within an emancipatory strategy can clearly be defined (emancipatory aspect).

Let us take these point by point:

1) In traditional curricula, the student appears merely as the addressee of education. The educational subjects and the educational goals are planned and determined without his participation: he cannot view them, therefore, as his own. 5) This situation should never describe the relationship of educational goals and the learning subject in a curriculum of peace education. On the contrary, there must be a correspondence of goal and method in education: the method itself has to be a mirror of the goal. The student cannot learn to be an active and creative subject if he himself did not participate in determining education, i.e. if he is treated as an object. The adequate method for this goal would be a self-organizing learning group deciding autonomously about the determination of the educational goals, the planning of the lessons, the choice of the learning methods, and the

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5) Wolfgang Klafki, Karl Christoph Lingelbach, Hans W. Nicklas (Eds.): Probleme der Curriculumentwicklung. Entwürfe und Reflexionen. Frankfurt/M. 1972, p. 20, p. 40.

assessment and evaluation of educational results. 6)

Therefore, a curriculum of peace education finds itself in a dilemma: it should only stimulate learning processes, but it has to determine goals. The learning goals proposed here do not escape this dilemma either. However, these educational goals would be totally misunderstood by anyone who takes them as a catalogue of goals to be operationalized in the tradition of the behavioristic learning theory, forced upon the students in a one-way communication and finally tested by a set of exams.

2) This cannot mean that one may deduce the learning goals from a scientific system of peace research, however it might be structured. Such a system cannot exist; and if it did, peace education could not be understood as a mere detraction and simplification of it. On the contrary, this means that there may be developed a very close relationship between peace research as a part of a critical social science, and the learning goals of peace education.

3) The concept of emancipation may be explained in a twofold manner. On the one hand, as the goal of the learning process of the individual: the guidance towards a broader capacity of the student to reflect and act. On the other hand, emancipation could be defined as a concept within the normatively-oriented social sciences, in the sense that the social sciences define themselves as a part of the societal self-determination process of man.

The criterion for selecting and evaluating a learning goal would therefore be its emancipatory content: the value of the learning goal within the organized learning process would have to be measured in terms of its contribution to the capacity of reflecting societal interrelationships, to a critical self-understanding, and to concrete self-active faculties and therefore to the process of human self-liberation. 7) The following attempt intends to connect the discussion about learning goals of peace education with the state of research in peace research as much as possible: i.e., not to postulate learning goals beforehand but to de-

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6) Cf. Ingrid Haller, Hartmut Wolf: Selbstreflexion der Lerngruppe auf ihr eigenes Verhalten als didaktische Kategorie der politischen Bildung. In: Kurt Fackiner (Ed.): Handbuch des politischen Unterrichts. Frankfurt/M. 1972, pp 239-289.

7) Wolfgang Klafki, Karl Christoph Lingelbach, Hans W. Nicklas: l.c.p. 18.For the concept of emancipation cf. J. Habermas. Ludwig von Friedeburg, Christoph Dehler, Friedrich Weltz: Student und Politik. Frankfurt/M. 1961, p 15. Kurt Gerhard Fischer: Überlegungen zur Didaktik des politischen Unterrichts. Göttingen 1972, pp. 80 - 91.

duce them from the state of critical peace research through a rational, transparent, and verifiable procedure.

The basic idea of the procedure outlined in this connection is that the present literature on peace research contains the essential and - at the present state of scientific research - possible and meaningful learning goals in explicit and implicit form . The necessary steps towards an identification of the learning goals would be the following:

1) analysis of the literature about peace research, excerpting the explicit or implicit learning goals;

2) explication of the contextual justification of these learning goals;

3) a critical discrimination of the learning goals. Within this operational step, the relevance of the learning goals has to be examined along the three listed criteria (curricular aspect, scientific aspect, emancipatory aspect). This is not possible without establishing a theoretical context - which, however, be assumed voluntaristicly, but should be connected with the political interest of critical peace research;

4) structuring of learning goals. This step makes possible several ordering principles: one might consider constructing hierarchies of learning goals, i.e., the development of high level general learning goals and their connection with individual learning goals, partial learning goals, and learning elements. In addition, one might consider constructing sequences of learning goals in the form of concentric circles, where the individual learning goals are not linearly ordered around the general learning goal.

4. Learning Goals: a Suggested Outline

While the following learning goals do not yet represent a result of a systematic test of procedure, they may aphoristically indicate the direction which the development of learning goals might take if they are connected with the results of critical peace research. They do not cover the total area of peace research, nor are they sufficiently differentiated. Especially they are lacking specific concreteness. Their sole purpose is to serve as a basis for further discussion. 8)

LEARNING GOALS FOR PEACE EDUCATION

To learn not to accept social conditions as a natural phenomenon, but to evaluate these conditions in terms of the given possibilities for the emancipation of man and in terms of the possibility of democratizing society;

To learn to understand oneself as the subject of social processes;

To recognize that one's own thinking and acting is socially mediated (through socialization, roles etc.);

To recognize that one's own freedom of action is limited by society;

To learn that this freedom of action should be utilized;

To recognize that the expansion of one's own freedom of action means to initiate social change;

To recognize that action aiming at changing society implies joint action, i.e. solidarity with others;

To develop the capability to recognize the social consequences of one's own actions;

To learn to consider strategies and tactics for changing society;

To learn not to bow to the conformity pressure of society and to act even though one is in an inferior position;

To develop the capability to recognize one's own interests, to articulate them and to act accordingly;

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8) cf. Fritz Vilmar: Systematischer Entwurf zur kritischen Friedensforschung. In: Dieter Senghaas (Ed.): Kritische Friedensforschung, l.c.pp. 362 - 395.

To develop the capability to recognize the identity of and the conflict between one's own interest and the interests of others;

To recognize that there are particular and general interests;

To learn to relate one's own interests to general ones;

To recognize that peace is a general interest;

To recognize that particular interests are in opposition to peace;

To recognize that it is easier to organize and carry through particular interests rather than to organize and carry through general interests;

To develop the capability to relate one's own actions to individual and social emancipation;

To learn that the desired goal has to be implied in the road towards that goal: one cannot reach a humane goal by inhumane means;

To recognize that society limits individual development and self-actualization;

To develop the capability to recognize the individual consequences of social alienation;

To recognize that the existing social structure favors groups of human beings in their human development and in the satisfaction of their needs, while discriminating against others;

To recognize that such chances and such disadvantages are determined by the position of the groups within the economic system;

To recognize that these differences are ideologically justified or explained as natural by those who are profiting from them;

To learn to identify oneself with the interests of the underdogs;

To recognize by which means society is able to secure the social status quo in the consciousness of the subjected citizens;

To recognize through which structures of violence society secures the status quo;

To recognize that in addition to the necessary domination conditioned by the development level of the productive forces and the scarcity of resources there exists domination which is not conditioned by external restraints;

To develop the capability to compare actual self-realization with potential self-realization, attainable according to the development of the productive forces;

To recognize that, as a rule, additional domination is legitimized by actual domination;

To recognize that additional domination presents itself as violence against human beings;

To recognize that this violence has two forms: personal and structural violence;

To recognize that structural violence is the form of violence which influences human beings so that their "actual somatic and intellectual realization is less than their potential realization" (Johan Galtung);

To recognize that structural violence can torture, destroy and kill;

To recognize that the structure of violence within society influences human beings in their development in such a way that they bow to this violence, accepting it as necessary or natural, finally developing structures such that human beings need violence and indeed experience violence as a pleasant sensation;

To learn to recognize the causes of social conflicts;

To learn that social antagonisms manifest themselves in social conflicts;

To learn to recognize the different interests which manifest themselves in conflictual fronts;

To learn to recognize ideologies of veiling and rationalization put forward by the parties to a conflict;

To learn to evaluate conflicts in terms of their emancipatory potential;

To learn to analyze conflicts for possible strategies for conflict resolution;

To learn to recognize those interests which have a stake in veiling and harmonizing conflicts;

To recognize that aggression is not an ahistorical-ontic reality;

To recognize that the social system produces aggression;

To recognize that aggressive attitudes are learned;

To recognize that certain aggressive attitudes are socially approved, others sanctioned;

To recognize that the objects of aggression are exchangeable;

To recognize that aggression may be oriented to socially designated objects in a manipulative manner;

To recognize that, in social crises, an especially high aggressive potential can develop which, for the sake of intra-societal stability, may then be directed to internal minorities or marginal groups or to external "enemies";

To develop the capability to recognize social causes of the aggressive behavior of oneself and other people;

The develop the capability to recognize the aggressive character of one's own actions (aggression sensitivization);

To learn not to let one's own aggressivity be used by others for their own aims and interests;

To learn to recognize one's own prejudices and to critically reflect upon them;

To learn that prejudices are socially conditioned;

To learn to recognize the social causes of prejudices;

To recognize that prejudices limit the freedom of thinking and action;

To recognize that prejudices deform the perception of reality, functioning as a selective filter for perception;

To recognize that prejudices bear the character of a self-fulfilling prophecy;

To learn to dismantle particular loyalties to ethnic groups and nations and to develop loyalties aiming at humanity as a whole;

To learn to perceive the international system as historical;

To recognize that, therefore, the international system may be formed, i.e., it can be changed or overcome;

To recognize that the present international system reflects the contradictions of its constitutive societies: world society is a system of domination with a high level of division of labor and with an asymmetric distribution of economic and social life chances;

To learn to analyze systemic conflict potentials and open conflicts;

To recognize that wars are natural catastrophes which are socially created by man (Mitscherlich);

To recognize that wars are not so much rooted "in the minds of individuals but rather in the orders and disorders of communities", that their causes "are not of a private but of a political nature" (Gustav Heinemann);

To recognize that the means used in wars have more far-reaching consequences for mankind than their pretended goals;

To recognize that peace cannot be sufficiently described as the absence of war;

To recognize that peacelessness is built into our social system;

To recognize that peace means the dismantling of structural violence.

JÜRGEN MARKSTAHLER, VOLKER WAGNER, and DIETER SENGHAAS
(FRG)

STRUCTURAL DEPENDENCE AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT
A Contribution to a Curriculum on the "Third World"

I. Peace Research and Curriculum Development

1. On the Links between Peace Research and Political Education Including Peace Education

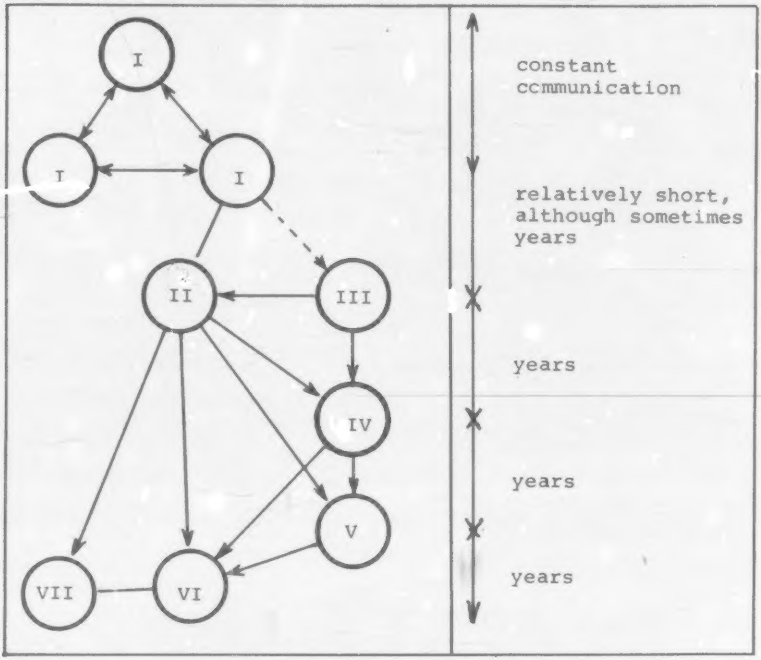
In order to point to some of the motives behind the project discussed in the present paper, there is need for a brief reference to the current cooperation or rather lack of cooperation between peace research, educational science and political education. The position described in the following paragraphs not only applies to peace research but also to the still unsatisfactory interplay between the whole field of social science and political education. Diagram 1 sums up the authors' view on this point.

Diagram 1 here

Today there is a politically observable difference in the degree of information available in the various institutions involved in the transfer of knowledge acquired through peace research to political education. Whereas there is constant progress in the sort of research done at peace research institutes and at some universities and whereas the scientists involved in the research process itself are always in close touch with each other, the results of this research (theories, models, empirical findings, alternative concepts for action et. al.) only slowly filter through to the other institutions which deal with political education in the course of what is in part a very laborious, but particularly unorganized process which lasts years.

Even if the transfer of knowledge acquired through peace research to university teaching and education takes place within a relatively short time in cases where scientists concentrate especially on the research and teaching of this subject, a direct transfer process of this kind can hardly be said to characterize the transfer of research results to political education in general. Most subjects dealt with in peace research (such as armaments and war, the stratification of the international society and structural violence, among others) are only incorporated

Diagram 1: The Transfer of Peace Research to Political Education (Present-Day Situation)


I
I
I
II
III
IV
V
VI
VII
constant communication
relatively short, although sometimes years
years
years
years

Key:
I Research institutes and research at universities
II University teaching and training
III Curriculum discussion in educational science, and also to some extent in other individual sciences
IV Ministerial guidelines and officially approved of curricula
V Production of school text-books
VI Teaching in regular schools
VII Teaching at adult universities and similar institutions

years later in the average university teaching and in the curriculum discussion going on in educational science, and, more recently to an increasing extent in the curriculum discussion taking place within other sciences. Whereas the position in this respect was pretty disastrous at the beginning of the sixties, the time required for a transfer from research to university teaching (from I to II) has been considerably reduced since the end of the sixties and peace research grew as a separate discipline.

Once again, in some cases it usually takes years for a subject which is gradually becoming accepted in curriculum discussions and in university education to become incorporated in official guidelines and curricula approved of by ministries of education; it takes even longer for these topics to be seriously considered in the production of school text-books. Even if the transfer time from university education to teaching at normal schools is relatively short in some cases (II to VI), the inclusion of central problems of peace research still takes place on a relatively self-taught and improvised basis for lack of anything better. This is all the more so, the younger the age of those being taught.

This uneasy situation can only be improved if it proves possible to break down the existing structure described above at its vital points. *The process by means of which knowledge and information filter through from peace research to political education as if through a series of cascades can only be altered if there is a direct feedback between all the institutions concerned*. A particular prerequisite for this kind of feedback is that there be a close connection between peace research and university teaching, between curricular discussion and the formulation of official guidelines and concrete projects, including the more rapid publication of any such projects. As for problems involving the content of what is taught, this kind of feedback will probably only be successful if it does not take place in the traditional interdisciplinary manner but on a *trans*-disciplinary basis. As shown by experience, inter- or even multidisciplinary research and cooperation are not on the whole worthwhile unless all those concerned are prepared to acquire essential knowledge of the "neighbouring" disciplines allocated to them (e.g. peace research and curriculum research). It is only where there is an overlapping of expertise (*transdisciplinarity*) that relatively rapid progress can be made in the communication process between science, educational science, educational policy and concrete teaching, a process which is not only in a sorry state in the Federal Republic of Germany but elsewhere as well (as has been clearly demonstrated by surveys on peace education as well).

In this context, we can integrate the curriculum project discussed in this study in a development which has recently been described as so-called *school-oriented curriculum development* 1). As peace research is not an independent specialized discipline in the strict sense of the term, but is a problem-oriented science which should mobilize transdisciplinary expertise 2) according to the problem under discussion, it is fairly easy to build a bridge between peace research and *school-oriented* curriculum development, which does not work according to a specific subject; at any rate, experience teaches that this bridge is easier to build than the bridge between other disciplines which are deeply rooted in traditional science and teaching (such as history for example) 3).

Projects on school-oriented curriculum development are intentionally based on the everyday needs of teachers and pupils. They not only aim at bridging the cognitive gap between knowledge acquired by peace research on the one hand *and* the backwardness and sterility in the previous treatment of international and societal conflict formations in the teaching of current affairs, civics and similar subjects on the other hand. Beyond this, curriculum work of this type also aims at formulating goals for social learning 4). Finallly, this work is designed to make a contribution to overcoming concrete teaching and learning problems by drawing up teaching projects which are based on the latest scientific knowledge.

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(1) Cf S. Gerbaulet et. al., Schulnahe Curriculumentwicklung. Eine Denkschrift, Stuttgart 1972.

(2) D. Senghaas, Friedensforschung. Theoretische Fragestellunger und praktische Probleme, in: Jahrbuch für Friedens- und Konfliktforschung, Vol. 2, Düsseldorf 1972, pp. 10-22.

(3) Cf H. Süssmuth's discussion on history in school, Lernziele und Curriculum-Elemente eines Geschichtsunterrichts nach strukturierendem Verfahren, in: Lernziele und Stoffauswahl im politischen Unterricht, Schriftenreihe der Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, Heft 93, Bonn 1972, pp. 37-83.

(4) Ch. Kulke and J. Lundgreen argue along similar lines: Probleme der Dritten Welt im Unterricht, Frankfurt 1972, as well as a more comprehensive curriculum project which is in the making under the direction of E. Meueler.

Following the recent discussion on the curriculum, an attempt is now being made to develop teaching materials so that they can be used in the actual concrete teaching situation with a relatively high degree of flexibility. This sort of attempt should not just involve the technocratic planning of teaching projects which can only be used if the teacher and his pupils are following a predetermined programme. Concrete initiatives, leading to changes in teaching and class discussion should not be looked upon as irritating by-products; on the contrary, they should be welcomed. After all, they show critical reflexion and spontaneity, which can only have a beneficial effect on the teaching situation. We shall return to this problem in section IV.

The project discussed in this study can also be described as an example of school-oriented curriculum development because it links up scientific and educational discussion, concrete work on the curriculum and practical application in teaching. Thus, even if on a very small scale, this project puts into practice what school-oriented curriculum development is aiming at in principle: organized and continuous communication between science, didactics and practical teaching within a political framework which is favourable to this kind of communication 5). Instead of the hierarchical pattern illustrated above by diagram 1 with differing degrees of information available at different levels at different times, we then have direct feedback processes between all those involved which are grouped around specific problem areas. In this way, specialized scientific and didactic research is unable to remain introverted and cut off from teaching practice, whereas on the other hand practical teaching is prevented from being a world in itself with its own specific self-images and world images. The linking up of the most important institutions involved in political education work, ranging from scientific practice to different situations in teaching practice, will also help to see that scientific work is based more on the requirements of everyday school life and that the schools keep abreast of knowledge acquired through scientific work, both in the empirical and analytical sense and in a practical sense. Diagram 2 illustrates our alternative to the present situation as described in Diagram 1.

Diagram 2 here

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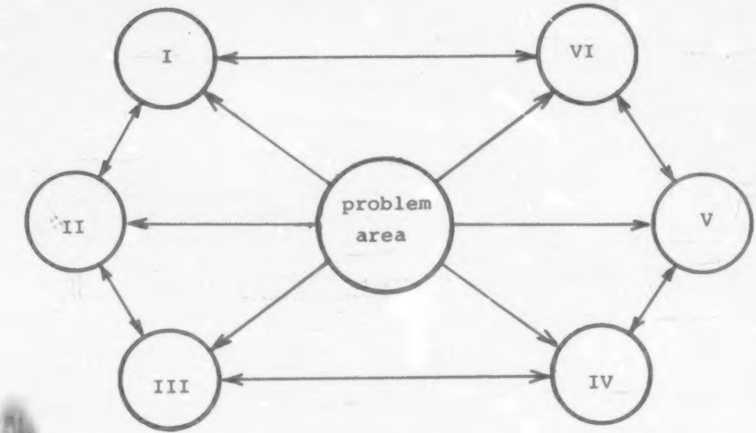
(5) Cf the proposal to set up regional educational centres in the memorandum quoted under footnote 1.

Diagram 2: School-Oriented Curriculum Development: On the Configuration of Transfer


I
VI
II
problem
area
V
III
IV

Key: As in Diagram 1.

For Reasons of clarity, no attempt was made to connect up each educational instiution with all the others on the diagram.

2. Specific Aspects of the So-Called Transfer Problem

However, curriculum projects in the field of peace research and peace education cannot only aim at developing strategies in the framework of "practically orientated" peace and conflict research in order to transfer knowledge acquired through research to teaching in schools. We should rather enquire about the value of these projects in relation to general goals for *school* teaching and specific goals for *political* education.

Such very general learning goals which fulfill the socio-political guidelines also include ideas about the social situation in the German Federal Republic. This study does not include a description of controversial standpoints on this question. Our point of departure is an attempt at formulating learning goals which are based on the practice of democracy as laid down in the Basic Law (the constitution of the FRG).

> "The most comprehensive goal of education is the ability of each person to pursue his individual and social life, which is understood to mean his ability to live out in practice the liberty and freedoms which the Constitution grants and imposes on him." 6)

> "Thus, in these guidelines democratic awareness is linked to the ability to recognize in good time any trends and developments which run contrary to the constitutional tenets of Basic Law. This must imply the readiness to stand up for the practice of democracy in all areas of society." 7)

However, this sort of avowal of democratic aims only acts as a pointer so long as it is not accompanied by any statement as to the consequences of this for teaching. Organized learning processes in the school must be judged according to the extent to which they promote the pupil's

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(6) Deutscher Bildungsrat, Strukturplan für das Bildungswesen, Stuttgart 1969, p. 29. Cf also R. R. Grauhan and W. D. Narr, Studium der Sozialwissenschaft, demonstriert an der Politikwissenschaft, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1973, pp. 90-134.

(7) Rahmenrichtlinien, Sekundarstufe I, Gesellschaftslehre, ed. by the Hessian Minister of Education, 1972, p. 9.

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ability to analyse social relationships and thus his self-reliance and his ability to act in a given historical situation in the spirit of self-determination and participation.

The concrete contents and methods linked to these very general learning goals only become clear when they are applied to concrete situations. That is why some information is necessary about what is to be learnt when, why, how and by whom.

The central question which emerges from these very general school learning goals in relation to political education is the extent to which self-determination and participation are practised in given social circumstances, what resistance is met, under what conditions can these factors of resistance be eliminated, who has an interest in maintaining or changing the position, what qualifications and behavioural aptitudes are necessary to support and carry through self-determination and participation.

Criteria for the selection of teaching content and the way teaching is organized must be based on this kind of question, which, as we shall see shortly, can also be related to spheres of life outside the individual's direct range of experience (local, national and socio-cultural). In a process of conscious learning, schoolchildren should participate in the clarification of the above-mentioned questions. "The readiness of schoolchildren to stand up for maintaining and spreading democratic conditions will also depend on the opportunities they have to learn the requisite behaviour patterns at school." 8)

Against the background of what has been said above, it is now time to investigate the value that problem areas dealt with by peace and conflict research can have in the framework of political education. When deriving subjects for teaching from the central topics of peace and conflict research (such as for example the dynamics of armaments, structures of dependency, collective violence and others), work must be based on the following questions:

1. What concrete conflict situations are of vital political importance in the view of present-day peace and conflict research, and what contribution does their discussion in school make to attaining the very general learning goal described above?

2. To what extent do the selected teaching subjects contribute to enabling pupils to interpret internal and inter-social conflicts with a view to their present and future living conditions?

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(8) Rahmenrichtlinien (see footnote 7), p. 8.

3. What is the relationship between the priorities established and the pupils' situation while learning?

What concrete conflict situations which have left their mark on today's international society have been discussed systematically and in detail elsewhere? 9) In connection with the rather more didactic questions (question 2 and especially question 3), we must now draw the reader's attention to a serious problem.

Since peace research in the past has mainly dealt with macro-structural problems (such as the dynamics of armaments, dependency in international relationships, problems of collective violence), certain specific difficulties arise in didactics, if recent educational theories are followed. These can be summed up in the following way:

It is difficult for schoolchildren to relate problems of world-wide political relevance to their own social situation. Politically relevant teaching should, however, be primarily concerned with subjects related to the child's direct field of experience.

Even if one succeeds in replacing ideological patterns of interpretation (exotically adventurous, morally charitative, racist, biological and personifying interpretations), which are often dominant in the way the general public judges this sort of conflict, by categories permitting social analysis, it will still be difficult to find an easy didactic way of conveying the structural dependency of, say, the developing countries along with the structures of dependency which exist in our own society.

Slightly exaggerated, this means that if, as recognized didactic theory demands, political education is given the task of reducing the study of social relationships to those focal questions and problem areas which can be directly experienced by the pupils, then this task grows and indeed becomes a serious problem itself whenever the analysis of international conflicts is required to concentrate on macro-structural and socio-economic aspects, as is the case in today's peace and conflict research. 10)

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(9) Cf D. Senghaas, Konfliktformationen in der gegenwärtigen internationalen Gesellschaft, in: Ch. Wulf (ed.), Kritische Friedenserziehung, Frankfurt 1974.

(10) Cf F. Vilmar, Systematischer Entwurf zur Kritischen Friedensforschung, in: D. Senghaas (ed.), Kritische Friedensforschung, Frankfurt 1972, pp. 362-395.

However, if one were to accept the often exaggerated notion that it is only subjects which are directly connected with the pupils' world of experience which are theoretically and didactically suitable for inclusion in curricula, then important political, socio-economic, military, and ideological problems would be excluded by definition from social studies for most age groups. This would apply in particular to all questions dealing with international conflict situations. On the other hand, schoolchildren, at least in highly industrialized nations like the FRG, are confronted more than ever before with problems of this kind (the "third world", negotiations on arms control, the world monetary crisis, wars etc.), which they experience indirectly through the mass media even if they do not experience them personally. Not to deal with such problems because they only concern pupils indirectly and because there is no feedback process between schoolchildren and reality, with which they are only confronted from afar and through the mass media, would mean neglecting an essential task of political education: to make a contribution to the breaking down of what are usually empty, very emotional images and of pseudo-knowledge about international society, as well as to provide life-like paradigms of reality, which are capable of structuring a large amount of changing day-to-day political information.

For this reason, seemingly remote problems (such as those mentioned above by way of example) are also of importance to social studies, especially since these subjects often appear much more attractive than strictly internal social problems (such as, for instance, current conflicts between the two sides of industry, capital and labour), because everyone feels he should hold and be able to express a "competent" opinion on international problems.

Apart from this, the quality of a single subject can really only be assessed if its context is also taken into account. A single subject can never fulfill every didactically desirable function. What is important is to synchronize, dealing with varied subjects so that by skilfully presenting them in a suitable manner for the age group in question, lasting and successful results can be achieved over a period of many years. There will be further consideration of this point in Part IV.

The following sections of this study are intended to serve as the basis for a curriculum on the "third world". The authors are aware that this is a subject which is relatively remote from reality for schoolchildren in the FRG, but which is nevertheless of considerable importance for them today; because every day they are confronted with information from and about the "third world" countries by the mass media. We have chosen this subject from the various problems which peace and conflict research have particularly dealt with in recent years because we have the impression that there is a tremendous discrepancy in this field between scientific knowledge on the one hand and current ideas held by the general public on the other.

Part II of this study is an introduction to the subject of "Structural Dependence and Underdevelopment". It contains a discussion of the relevance of this subject for learning purposes; some essential facts are presented and general learning goals which are specific to the subject are formulated. Part III puts forward two concrete proposals for teaching, while Part IV deals with general problems involved in putting across both the content and the aims of the teaching.

II. "Structural Dependence and Underdevelopment"

1. Relevancy for Learning Purposes: on the Discrepancy between the Importance of the So-Called North-South Conflict Formation in International Society and the Prevailing State of Information and Awareness in the German Federal Republic

The selection and arrangement of subjects for political education must be derived from the goals sketched out above. This derivation must be demonstrated for each of the selected subjects: it is necessary to show what teaching contents can be conveyed in combination with certain learning goals. The following paragraphs are an attempt to illustrate this relationship by using a curriculum on the "third world" as an example.

In the light of the present world-wide political situation, the so-called development gap between North and South, the conflict between "rich" and "poor" areas, between industrial societies and the underdeveloped societies of the "third world" countries is of growing political significance. On many occasions the idea has even been put forward that this conflict is becoming increasingly serious and is perhaps even more important than the East-West conflict of the past twenty years.

In the last few years, the formation of conflicts between North and South has been a focal subject of peace and conflict research. There is also frequent reference to the so-called conflict between North and South in political speeches and public appeals. Thus, in a letter to the Chairman of the Conference of the 'Länder' Prime Ministers dated the 7th September 1972, Federal Chancellor

Willy Brandt spoke out in favour of placing more than in the past emphasis on the subject of development policy in schools. The letter runs as follows:

> "Dear Mr. Prime Minister,
> At our last joint talk with the heads of government of the 'Länder' I was not able to make a request due to lack of time and would therefore now like to do so in writing. What I am refering to is the need to give closer attention to questions of development aid policy in schools, which is a field where the Federal Government particularly needs the support of the 'Länder'.
> I am sure you will agree with me that no further widening of the gap between the poor and the rich nations of this earth must be allowed to occur. On the contrary, it will be one of our most important long term tasks for the future to reduce the disparity between the developing countries and the industrialized nations.
> In the long run, no development policy is feasible without the strong support of the population. The insights and abilities necessary to achieve this end should be acquired at school age. Among other things, these include the will to settle conflicts peacefully, the readiness to support international solidarity and the realization that there can be no isolated islands of prosperity in this world.
> A study of school text-books commissioned by the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation drew attention to the fact that questions involving developing countries and development policy have largely been neglected in school text-books. School text-books should contain a reference to dealing with these questions at school and during teacher training.
> I should be grateful if the Prime Ministers would bring their influence to bear in order to make sure that problems involving the developing countries and development generally be given more attention in school teaching. If necessary, the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation is in the position to give schools support on this point by providing them with information, didactic proposals and references.
>
> Yours sincerely,
> signed Brandt" 11)

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(11) Frankfurter Rundschau, November 1, 1972.

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> have been studied. This approach sees in the 'third world' whatever corresponds to or threatens Western interests and habitual ways of thinking; people in this 'residual world' are at best grudgingly granted the status of human beings. This tendency can be demonstrated in detail in school text-book analysis." 18)

In this connection it is important to remember that school text-books are only one of several media used for "political education". Current patterns of thought such as are to be found in school text-books reoccur in a very similar form in other media, such as in advertising, in films and in magazines. 19)

In view of this situation, it cannot be the task of education which aims at emancipation to build up a morally motivated and therefore abstract solidarity with the peoples of the "third world".

> "Purely verbal solidarity whith the third world which fails to come to grips with the conditions for and barriers to social development in one's own country will not bear fruit because it simply postulates a third world variant of charitable appeals for help." 20)

It is not sufficient either to make up for an existing lack of information because additional information alone does not produce a change in attitude. 21)

On the other hand, criticism of current ideas about the conflict between North and South and about the position of the third world, including criticism of prevailing views on the contribution of the German Federal Republic to overcoming this conflict, is an essential prerequisite for any form of solidarity which is not purely intellectual.

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(18) Fohrbeck et. al., cf. footnote 13 above, p. 18.

(19) Cf the analysis of a report in the magazine STERN about Brazil, in: Fohrbeck et. al., cf footnote 13 above, p. 134; cf Jörg Becker, Rassendiskriminierung im Jugendbuch der westlichen Welt, in: Westermanns Pädagogische Beiträge, 3/1973, pp. 150-156.

(20) F. J. Raddatz, in: MERKUR, 4/1971, quoted according to Fohrbeck et. al., cf footnote 13 above, p. 133.

(21) Becker et. al., cf footnote 17 above; Teschner, cf footnote 17 above.

Thus, the educational relevance of our subject "Structural Dependence and Underdevelopment" should be judged according to whether a discussion of its historical and socio-economic aspects can contribute to

- giving insight into structures of dependence;
- granting insights into those structures of dependence which also result from the political behaviour of social groups in one's own society,
- and to promoting the ability to develop counter-strategies and tactics for change.

Our point of departure is that knowledge about the structural dependence of the "third world" on the "first" (a fact which will be illustrated in more detail in the following paragraphs) is not only important for a realistic appreciation of the position of the "third world" countries but also gives insights into the structures and general mechanisms which reproduce dependent relationships; therefore,we furthermore assume that learning about the "third world" has what is possibly an indirect bearing on the promotion of cognitive and emotional competence in schoolchildren in relation to other subjects, though perhaps in an indirect way. This is all the more true if the subjects developed in this study are didactically linked with other subjects which relate to structures of dependence in our own society.

The following section gives a rough description of the structures of dependence which go to make up the position of the so-called developing countries in order to illustrate the relevance of the subject selected for teaching.

2. Description of the Subject

The way in which "third world" countries are usually described as developing countries generally implies the assumption that processes of development are effective in these areas which will successively make it possible to eliminate the typical characteristics of underdevelopment, such as a low per capita income, slow or stagnating economic growth, economic and political instability, unemployment, specialization in the production of raw materials and unprocessed agricultural products.

This approach to the problem, which overlooks the significance of external factors influencing development processes in the "third world" is increasingly giving way to the realization on the part of the general public in Federal Germany that the position of the so-called developing countries must be seen in the context of the international system of economic relations. 22) For instance, Erhard Eppler, the minister for economic cooperation with third world countries, had this to say on the subject:

> "As long as the division of labour which characterized the nineteenth century is maintained, with Europe and America producing industrial goods and the other countries supplying raw materials and foodstuffs, there can be no effective development aid policy. From the economic point of view, development aid thus also involves an attempt to bring about a new division of labour." 23)

The development aid concept implied in this quotation assumes that the causes of the lack of opportunities for development in the "third world" countries are above all connected with the dependence of the underdeveloped countries on price movements on the world market (deterioration of the terms of trade for the producers of raw materials: increasing prices for manufactured goods with a simultaneous relative drop in the price of raw materials). This view is a pointer in that it uncovers the decisive factor necessary for the proper assessment of development problems: the dependence of the ecoromic and social situation in the underdeveloped countries on the international economic system. However, its weakness lies in the fact that discrimination against the so-called developing countries is seen exclusively in the light of international trade relations. The attempt "to bring about a new division of labour" is bound to fail if it does not take into account all factors which have a bearing on the structural dependence of the underdeveloped countries on the international economic system. This becomes apparent once the conclusion that can be drawn from this sort of development aid concept is investigated. According to this conclusion, the solution to the problems of the underdeveloped countries lies in their industrialization. This concept is based on the European model of the industrial revolution.

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(22) Cf the studies by authors from the third world, in D. Senghaas (ed.), Peripherer Kapitalismus. Analysen über Abhängigkeit und Unterentwicklung, Frankfurt 1974.

(23) Speech delivered on January 6, 1969, quoted according to Fohrbeck et. al., cf footnote 13 above, p. 154.

Even so, the example of Latin America shows that this sort of concept is unsuitable. After all, whereas the industrialization of Western Europe took place on the basis of national and economic independence hand in hand with the exploitation of today's "third world" countries, the development of industrial sectors in Latin America is characterized by the rapid expansion of international firms mainly from Japan, Western Europe, and above all from the United States. 24)

The view is frequently expressed that distributing foreign investments among profitable sectors of the economy in the recipient countries promotes their economic and social development. It is further argued that one of the resulting possibilities, i.e. that of substituting imports, changes the economy of an underdeveloped country in such a way as to make it capable of self-perpetuating economic growth.

As far as this concept is concerned, it should first be pointed out that apart from those foreign investments which go into the exploitation of natural resources (for instance oil), a large percentage of investments flows into the commercial and service sector: import and export companies, banks, insurance companies, real estate and other institutes of finance, retail firms, publishing, advertizing, hotels, cinemas and other services. Therefore,these are investments which make no direct productive contribution to industrialization.

Again, of all foreign investments which flow into the industrial sector, a large percentage is accounted for by the food and beverages industries (including bottle-filling plants and factories which manufacture ice-cream). The rest is mainly invested in the car industry. However, this sector, in turn, does not primarily produce lorries and tractors, which are necessary for development but are not necessarily profitable due to the structure of demand; on the contrary, the aim is to obtain maximum profits by manufacturing private cars for the high income groups. Therefore, the investments made by multinational companies primarily and quite naturally serve their own profit-making interests and are not aimed at promoting the social and

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(24) Cf A. G. Frank, Kapitalismus und Unterentwicklung in Lateinamerika, Frankfurt 1968 (English: Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America); D. Senghaas (ed.), Imperialismus und strukturelle Gewalt. Analysen über abhängige Reproduktion, Frankfurt 1972, primarily the contributions by O. Sunkel, Th. dos Santos, and C. Furtado.

economic development of the "third world". In order to lay the foundation for independent industrialization and economic growth accompanied by a positive effect of social equalization, investments would have to be entirely different: money would have to be invested in the production of basic industrial goods and equipment - steel, machines, lorries, tractors, and similar articles - which are essential to a developed economy. Contrary to this, the basing of industrial production on luxury consumer goods for the ruling classes in the underdeveloped countries means that the economy of these countries continues to be dependent on the exportation of raw materials.

In addition, there is the fact that the composition of foreign investments and their effects on the economic structure of the underdeveloped countries is decisive in perpetuating the state of underdevelopment. It is characteristic of foreign investments that the investing companies only shift part of a given production process to the "third world" countries and retain the major part under their direct control in the capitalist country of origin (hereinafter called the centre or metropolis). The subsidiaries of international companies are organized in such a way that they depend on the mother company for importing the necessary basic equipment and are also dependent on it for patents, individual parts, spare parts, which are frequently the vital components, such as, for instance, quality tools, technical experts, transport, insurance, and also technical and organizational plans for the production process. This kind of system results in the exclusion of existing or potential markets for developed technical processes in the developing countries (hereinafter refered to as satellites or peripheries), and ties the technical development of these countries to the economic structure and dynamics of the centre. The fact that the solutions to technical problems are already integrated into the relevant production process in the metropolis and are exported to the peripheries in the shape of the technical organization to be introduced here, means that the technological gap between the centres and the peripheries is constantly growing.

The way in which profits made by the subsidiary companies are used also contributes to blocking economic development in the peripheries. As a rule, these profits are not used for expanding production plants, although this does occur to some extent in some cases, but are mainly transfered back to the centres. The flow of capital back to the mother companies in the form of profits, interests on capital and real estate, subsidies for granting technical assistance, licences and patents, payments for deliveries, and so on, is much more substantial than the flow of capital from the centres to the peripheries. This process results in the increasing decapitalization of the underdeveloped countries and is one of the reasons for the constant deterioration of their balance of payments. In addition, some profits are used for buying up local firms or for acquiring shares in these firms (foreign penetration of local economies). This in turn increases the influence of international companies on the whole economy of the peripheries and thus also on the economic and political decisions of their governments.

Because of the circumstances 25) outlined roughly and incompletely above, it can be said that the development of industrial sectors in the countries of the "third world" through the expansion of capitalist companies has not led to a growth of self-reliant, i.e. autonomous economic systems nor to the attainment of economic independence and self-supporting development in newly structured regional areas. On the contrary, this expansion has led to the progressive economic and political dependence of the peripheries on the centres, whose structural characteristics are dominance and exploitation. For this reason, it is misleading to describe the underdeveloped countries as the countries of the "third world". For many decades or even centuries, the "third world" has been an integral part of the world-wide capitalist system, 26) which can be described as an imperialist system. 27) The evolution of this overall system, which fell into different historical phases, led to the capitalist world being divided up into exploiting, developed metropolitan areas and exploited, underdeveloped peripheries. The mechanisms of dependence which are characteristic of the relations between metropolitan and peripheral areas are here described by the term "structural dependence".

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(25) D. Senghaas (ed.), cf footnote 22 above.

(26) The relations between the socialist and the underdeveloped countries are of only minor importance for the economic situation in the "third world". Cf D. Senghaas, editorial preface, in: D. Senghaas (ed.), Imperialismus und strukturelle Gewalt, see footnote 24 above, p. 9.

(27) On the present theory of imperialism see D. Senghaas (ed.), Imperialismus und strukturelle Gewalt, cf footnote 24 above; also E. Mandel, Der Spätkapitalismus, Frankfurt 1973, chapter 11.

In this context, structural dependence is used to describe a constellation in which profits and benefits are unevenly distributed because of an asymmetrical structure of interaction and because within this system this uneven distribution favours those who are superior in the political, economic, military, scientific, and technological field (the oppressors and their allies) and is to the disadvantage of those who are weaker in these fields (the oppressed). 28)

One argument put forward in the discussion on "development aid" maintains that the decolonialized countries of the "third world" are in the process of leaving traditional societies behind them, that is to say they are becoming "modernized" and are developing capitalist economic and social structures which will finally come to resemble those in the metropolitan areas. However, this argument overlooks the constellation described above and is therefore incorrect.

> "Compared with the advanced capitalist world which is now undergoing its second industrial revolution, and compared with a socialist world which inspite of errors and uncertainties is experiencing faster economic growth than any other area, the third world is stagnating or is even loosing ground. This underdeveloped half of the world, where the population explosion is more evident than anywhere else, only has a twelve percent share in gross world production, and the per capita income is increasing much more slowly than in other parts of the world... Political decolonialization has not altered this exploitation at all." 29)

This situation is the expression and result of an international pattern of dominance and unequal division of labour 30) which has developed historically and is determined by the interest of the metropolitan areas. Right to

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(28) In this context, we thus do not mean those dependencies existing in an almost symmetrically structured exchange system (France - FRG); nor do we mean dependencies within an asymmetrically structured system of cooperative assistance (SU - Cuba), in which the superior party is to "bleed", as is actually the case in the relation between the Soviet Union and Cuba.

(39) P. Jalée, Die Dritte Welt in der Weltwirtschaft, Frankfurt 1969, pp. 130-31.

(30) C. Schuhler, Zur politischen Ökonomie der armen Welt, München 1968, and now E. Krippendorff (ed.), Probleme internationaler Beziehungen, Frankfurt 1973.

this very day, the division of labour is not seen to be a problem by the developed countries. A historical inquiry into the centuries old alignment of the so-called developing countries to the pattern of needs and requirements of the metropolitan areas shows the extent, the method, and the consequences of the way in which the developed countries have determined and continue to determine their development. In particular the historical growth of an international division of labour which distinguished between suppliers of raw materials and foodstuffs on the one hand and producers of industrial goods on the other has meant that the "rich countries" have become increasingly rich and the "poor countries" increasingly poor, in relative and sometimes even in absolute terms. Development processes of this kind are described as "the development of underdevelopment" or also as "dependent reproduction on the basis of structural violence", 31) whereby structural violence is taken to mean the result of direct violence, which has been used at various times with varying brutality to establish and stabilize dependence and exploitation.

In the course of the process through which the existing self-reliant economies of today's developing countries were largely destroyed by interference from the colonial powers in order to align production there to the "requirements" of the metropolitan areas ("mother countries"), one can distinguish between the following historical forms of dependence: 32)

- Colonial dependence, mainly involving the exportation of goods, whereby trading and financial capital and the colonizing state dominated the economic relations between Europeans and the colonies by use of a trading monopoly which found its counterpart in a colonial monopoly of land, mines, and labour (serfs or slaves) in the colonized countries.

- Financial and industrial dependence, which established itself towards the end of the 19th century. This is characterized by the predominance of large scale capital in the centres and its expansion abroad due

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(31) Cf D. Senghaas, see footnote 24 above, pp. 20-21. The conception of structural violence will be discussed later on, see footnote 37 below.

(32) Cf Th. dos Santos, Über die Struktur der Abhängigkeit, in: D. Senghaas (ed.), Imperialismus und strukturelle Gewalt, see footnote 24 above, pp. 245 ff.

to investments in the production of raw materials and agricultural products for use in the dominating metropolitan areas. In the dependent countries, a production structure based on the exportation of the products evolved.

- In the period after World War II new forms of technological dependence emerged in addition to financial and industrial dependence. These were mainly spread to the "third world" through new organizations, such as multinational corporations and international institutions.

Each of these historical forms of dependence roughly described above corresponds to a situation which was not only characteristic of the international relations between the peripheral areas and the metropolitan centres but was also typical of their internal structure: type of production, the predominant form of capital accumulation and their social and political development (socio-economic evolution). 33)

Any adequate analytical framework for the investigation of the "development of underdevelopment" must therefore be based on a recognition of the international economic system and of the dominant and dominated societies integrated into this system. On the basis of this kind of analysis underdevelopment cannot be interpreted as a transitional phase between so-called traditional and so-called modern societies; on the contrary, underdevelopment is an integral part of the historical process leading to the capitalist world system, i.e. it is reproduced afresh on every step in this system. 34) The evolution of this world-wide capitalist system led to a polarization between the highly industrialized metropolitan areas of the "Northern" centre and the underdeveloped and dependent countries of the "Southern" peripheries as well as to a polarization occuring within these latter areas themselves, between developed and underdeveloped regions and sectors on the one hand and between dominant elites and the oppressed, exploited masses on the other. 35)

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(33) Cf D. Senghaas (ed.), see footnote 22 above.

(34) Cf D. Senghaas, Konfliktformationen in der gegenwärtigen internationalen Gesellschaft, see footnote 9 above, Part II, 4; also the literature refered to in this paper.

(35) Here we confine ourselves to the analysis of the mentioned polarization processes. In a more complex analysis one would also have to analyse the polarizations within the metropolitan centres.

Thus, the relations between the centres and the peripheries cannot simply be seen as the dichotomy between "poor" and "rich" countries.

> "The... relevance of the centre-periphery model on various analytical levels is best illustrated in the study of the political position and socio-economic infrastructure of the third world countries, where national elites of different kinds usually fulfill a bridgehead function in relation to the influence of the capitalist centres of the North, that is to say that taken as a whole, they play a subordinate or 'marginal' role vis à vis the metropolitan centres; yet at the same time they act as priviledged centres in relation to their own internal social peripheries, which results in 'internal colonialism'." 36)

The present teaching proposal can be interpreted as a project designed to cast further light on the problems of *structural* violence 37) in the framework of the present discussion going on in peace research. Whereas the theoretical discussion about the concept of structural violence sees the discrepancy between reality (existing social situation) and potentiality (possible social conditions attainable through change) as the result of structural violence, we place a more *narrow* interpretation on this concept in the context of this project. This is also related to the discrepancy between reality and potentiality, but is applied to those social conditions where people are actually killed because of the predominant social structure. In the opinion of the authors, this kind of narrowing of the concept is justified in view of the lack of elementary conditions of survival in the "third world", in order to make it clear that the project is not based on any utopian standards but on standards which have long been considered to be a socio-political matter of course in the metropolitan areas: *what is initially at stake is to establish social conditions in which people are no longer killed by social structures*. 38) By relating the concept of violence to this kind of context

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(36) D. Senghaas, see footnote 24 above, pp. 16-17.

(37) Cf J. Galtung, Gewalt, Frieden und Friedensforschung, in: D. Senghaas (ed.), Kritische Friedensforschung, Frankfurt 1972, pp. 55-104.

(38) 1 to 2 percent of the world population die of hunger every year, 14 percent are almost famishing, 56 percent are undernourished. Cf E. Meueler, Soziale Gerechtigkeit, Düsseldorf 1971, p. 14.

it becomes evident that poverty, misery, famine, and similar conditions observed in the countries of the "third world" can no longer be traced back to natural factors but to social structures reinforced by dominance, i.e. to conditions of violence, which continue to be effective where there is no direct violence.

The present teaching project can also be based on the concept of structural violence as defined here, since many of the mechanisms used to maintain structural violence inside societies can also be observed in almost identical forms in the relations between metropolitan centres and peripheries. Seen from this point of view, the question can now be answered as to why a minority of the inhabitants of this planet have been capable of dominating the majority for so many centuries. In this context it is to be stressed that the concept of structural violence is based on an analysis of mechanisms of dominance, the knowledge of which makes it possible to answer the above question with relation to international society and to internal social structures. 39)

With these ideas as a background, we can now give a closer indication of why this subject is relevant for educational purposes. The study of structural dependence in schools can contribute to developing some essential qualifications for the ability to practise self-determination and participation:

- An analysis of the social structures of the so-called developing countries can point to the connection between one's own conditions of life and socio-economic structures of dominance elsewhere, because in the "third world" countries power is exercised much more openly than in our own society. In this way questions and categories can be developed which are also relevant for the interpretation of our own conditions of life;

- strategies to solve social conflicts can be investigated with a view to changing social and economic structures;

- getting to know historical examples of successful counter-strategies to free people from structural dependence can counteract political apathy, especially in the case of schoolchildren from the so-

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(39) Cf especially J. Galtung, Eine strukturelle Theorie des Imperialismus, in: D. Senghaas (ed.), Imperialismus und strukturelle Gewalt, see footnote 24 above, pp. 29-104.

called lower classes and can thus help to achieve emancipation through political education in our own society;

- the analysis of international structures of dependence and conflicts can teach schoolchildren to question the interests behind arguments put forward to justify certain decisions in foreign policy, such as for example "the protection of national interests, the defence of the free world", and so on.

The time has now come to formulate the following general learning goals on the basis of what has been said above:

3. General Learning Goals

- to recognize that the majority of the world population lives in famine, poverty, and want;
- to learn to inquire about the causes of this situation;
- to realize that this situation may be changed;
- to learn to develop strategies for changing it.

In detail this means:

a) to learn not to consider natural factors as the cause of living conditions in the developing countries (factors such as climatic, demographic and racial features) but to relate these conditions to the economic state of development of these countries;
b) to recognize the historical roots of and various phases in this unequal but combined development;
c) to learn to analyse existing structures of dependence in these countries in the economic, political, military, cultural, and technological fields;
d) to realize that these structures of dependence cannot simply be boiled down to the distinction between "poor" and "rich" countries, but that they are due to international structures of dominance in the framework of the world-wide capitalist system;
e) to learn to relate conflicts in the "poor" countries themselves and between "poor" and "rich" countries to these structures of dominance;
f) to learn to check counter-strategies and strategies for change for their capacity to eliminate social and economic disparities and dependence;
g) to learn to study historical and contemporary forms of the use of violence to see whether they are designed to exercise dominance or whether they should be interpreted as counter-strategies, i.e. counter-violence used to fight economic, political, and military oppression;

h) to learn to study the extent to which foreign trade, the transfer of capital and technology, and so on, as well as the guiding political strategies of the foreign policy of the German Federal Republic contribute to changing, eliminating or maintaining international structures of dependence.

III. On how to Break down the Subject Matter

1. Subdivision into Two Teaching Projects

In order to grasp the problems of the developing countries, a functional analysis of the history and origins as well as of the respective state of development of both the metropolitan centres and the peripheries is necessary, with particular attention to the needs and requirements of the metropolitan centres.

Thus, on the historical level it should be shown how the relations between the countries of the Western world and today's developing countries have evolved starting from the phase characterized by pure spoliation (ruinous colonialism) and going on to cover colonialism and classical imperialism right down to the present phase of control by international (or multinational) corporations.

On the functional level this would correspond to a description of the continuance of structures of dependence, especially on the economic level, which were originally generated by colonialism and imperialism (for instance monocultural and monoproductive orientation of the economies of the developing countries) and of the effects of the penetration of their economies by international corporations on the social structure of these countries.

For reasons of time and also because it is a difficult subject, the problem of international structures of dependence cannot be dealt with as one single teaching unit. An attempt must therefore be made to make the whole subject clearer by subdividing it into at least two teaching projects.

Part I

Part I, which is seen as a kind of preparatory course, involves the description of structures of dependence which are based on direct violence.

It will generally be necessary to make pupils aware of the very existence of poverty and underdevelopment in the "third world" countries and to uncover the historical reasons for the different levels of development in rich and poor countries.

Examples and categories which can be drawn from colonialism are essential for a continued analysis of the deformed social and economic structures of today's peripheries.

Thus, it will only be possible to make a relevant analysis of current problems in developing countries once it has been made clear how monocultures develop, to mention but one example, how national elites emerge as a result of colonialism, or how the "development of underdevelopment" works.

Part II

Once this stage has been completed, it will be possible in Part II to analyse structures of dependence against the background of indirect (structural) violence (formal political independence, the role of national elites in the developing countries) and to portray the intensification of economic, social, political, and cultural underdevelopment resulting form the expansion of international corporations.

In this context it will be of special importance to discuss political strategies for change and economic development programmes and to see how they can contribute to improving the position of the majority of people in the poor countries.

The teaching project presented in this study and described in concrete terms in Part I and II admittedly only deals with one aspect of the problems of dependent relationships in international society, although this is a very relevant aspect. In order to present a realistic picture of the structure of international society as a whole, it would be necessary to formulate other aspects as subjects for teaching. 40) The following points should be given particular attention:

- In this project, the development of the metropolitan centres themselves is not explicitly formulated as a subject for teaching. The history of the capitalist centres is in itself the history of changing dependent relationships which altered as the leading metropolitan areas were superseded by historical developments and

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(40) Cf D. Senghaas, Konfliktformationen in der gegenwärtigen internationalen Gesellschaft, see footnote 9 above.

in turn came to play second or even third fiddle to other, more dynamic areas just as, for instance, Spain and Portugal in the 15th and 16th centuries were replaced by Holland and Great Britain in the 17th and 18th centuries, or the European nation states of the 19th and early 20th century were overtaken by the present-day development of the U.S.A.. See Diagram 4 for further detail.

- There are also special dependent relationships between capitalist and socialist states. In particular, the so-called East-West conflict should be treated as the first example of what is structurally a North-South conflict. In view of the U.S.S.R.'s exit from the international capitalist economic system (1917), followed by China (1949) and Cuba (1959), this subject could be dealt with as the political expression of more or less successful counter-strategies.

This is a very important subject at the moment because the international economic relations between Western capitalist states and Eastern socialist states correspond in many respects to the structure of colonial exchange (raw materials and agricultural products exported to the West, and modern technology and management exported to the East).

Finally, in the socialist states themselves there is critical comment about new dependent structures between socialist states, for instance on the Part of Rumania and the People's Republic of China. Relationships of this kind should also be taken into account even if their structure is not necessarily identical with that of the relationships the present projects mainly deals with. (For instance, these dependent relationships between socialist states do not prevent the occurence of development processes which improve the living conditions of the whole population.)

2. Part I - "Cabora Bassa" and Portuguese Colonial Rule

a) On the Choice of Subject

Alongside the criteria already mentioned, in choosing a subject attention must also be given to educational and psychological criteria.

A subject which is designed to correspond to what has been said under "Part I and II" must be measured against:
1) the learning goals to be developed from Part I and II,
2) topicality,
3) the nature of the problem as a conflict,
4) political relevance,

5) the possibility of using suitable materials to put the subject across in the classroom,
6) the contribution the subject makes to attaining the general goals of political education.

The authors do not recommend illustrating the learning goals in Part I by using a historical subject, although this might appear to be justified with regard to the contents (for example, French colonial policy in West Africa, turning Senegal into a monoculture for peanuts). However, taking into account points 2, 3 and 4 it seems better to study the maintainance of dependence by means of direct violence using the example of present-day Portuguese despotism. The problem of Cabora Bassa is particularly suitable because it can be used to describe an important phase in the development of underdevelopment with reference to the controversial example of Portuguese colonial rule. Using present-day Portuguese colonial rule as an example, it is possible to recapitulate the events which occured throughout the 17th and 18th centuries and especially in the 19th century in Africa. At the same time, some initial insights can be gained into the expansion of international corporations (like ZAMCO) which will prove useful in phase 2 of the whole project.

b) Description of the Subject

The following 16 points are intended to show how the subject "Cabora Bassa and Portuguese colonial rule" can be used to attain the goals formulated in Part I. At the same time, they show which subjects and categories can be put across and illustrate how the subject can usefully serve as a kind of preparatory course. The order of the 16 points roughly reflects the planned teaching course. Comment on actual Portuguese colonial rule and the conflict over Cabora Bassa is a necessary prerequisite for formulating and deriving the resulting learning goals.

1. The Cabora Bassa dam project aims at improving the infrastructure of Mozambique in such a way as to open up the country's reserves of raw materials in the interest of the metropolitan areas.

2. The project prolongs Portuguese colonial rule (settlement plans, growing influence of South Africa).

3. Portugal's colonial rule aims at the maximum exploitation of Mozambique's raw materials in the interest of the metropolitan centres by taking advantage of cheap native labour.

4. The position of the population in Mozambique is similar to that of most people in developing countries, i.e. low standard of living, low per capita income.

5. The colonial history of Mozambique can be used to illustrate the most important phases in all European colonial history (initially commercial exploitation and spoliating colonialism, slave trade, compulsory cultivation of certain crops). Among these phases were
   - the conquest and elimination of arab middlemen,
   - the destruction of native culture, attempts to despoil gold reserves,
   - slave trading,
   - the destruction of native economies, compulsory cultivation, efforts to establish a cotton monoculture.

6. In order to carry through its economic and political interests Portugal uses the classical mechanisms of colonial dominance:
   - centralization of colonial administration,
   - a system of forced labour and compulsory taxation,
   - compulsory cultivation of cotton (large landed estates),
   - minimum wages for the native population,
   - encouraging small native elite groups while at the same time excluding the mass of the population from advancement (assimilation),
   - basing education on Portuguese culture (loss of identity for the Africans),
   - preventing the natives from taking up certain professions, e.g. in commerce,
   - prohibiting political activity (most of the population has no right to strike, take part in elections or form a coalition),
   - control of the populace through an extensive police and military system.

7. The deformation of the economic and social structure of a country by a colonial power can thus be illustrated. (Basing the economy on monoculture, keeping native labour unskilled etc.)

8. The economic relations between the metropolitan centre and the colony are based on a colonial or rather neocolonial system of exchange:
   - sale of cheap raw materials on the world market;
   - processing of the raw materials in the "mother country";
   - exchange of cheap raw materials for expensive industrial products.

9. The oppression of the population in Mozambique corresponds to the oppression of the populace in Portugal (international class structure).

10. The Portuguese colonial system is a variation of other racist class societies.

11. Attempts at justification (Western christian missions, civilization/assimilation, formal equality between the colony and the metropolis/"overseas provinces") serve to secure domination inside and outside the country.

12. The investments of Western European corporations (ZAMCO) and Portugal's membership in N.A.T.O. point to the international aspects of the conflict about Cabora Bassa.

13. The various liberation movements (especially FRELIMO) can be used to discuss strategies for change: guerilla warfare, establishing a new kind of society.

14. The investments made by Federal German firms (Siemens, AEG and others) and the public guarantees given for the project in form of Hermes credits and by means of support from public development agencies relate the conflict to our own society.

15. The discussion about Cabora Bassa in the German Federal Republic can be used to bring forward the problem of international solidarity: the stand adopted by the corporations involved, by the political parties, churches, student and apprentice groups.

16. The example of the cultural agreement between the Federal Republic and Portugal can be used to show that these problems reach right into the school classroom (description of Portuguese colonial policy in school text-books).

c) Learning Goals

1. To realize that the majority of people in Africa suffer from famine, poverty, and misery;

2. to realize that one of the causes of underdevelopment is the insufficient use of natural resources;

3. to investigate the extent to which measures to improve infrastructure help to make better use of natural resources and can contribute to the development of the country;

4. to recognize that the development of Mozambique's infrastructure (planning and construction of the dam) is decided by the colonial power Portugal;

5. to realize that there are conflicting views about the effects of the Cabora Bassa project;

6. to learn to relate this controversy to Portuguese colonial rule;

7. to become familiar with the various forms, goals and methods of Portuguese colonialism:
   - to study the economic aims which existed in the various historical phases of Portuguese colonial dominance;
   - to learn who benefits and in what way from the economic relations between the metropolis and the colony;
   - to be able to study the effects of Portuguese colonial rule on the economic and social structure of the colony;
   - to be able to classify administrative and military measures taken by the colonial authorities in this context;
   - to be able to question colonial ideologies as to their ulterior motives;

8. to investigate whether the implementation of the Cabora Bassa project is likely to improve the living conditions of the Africans or to prolong Portuguese colonial rule;

9. to realize that non-Portuguese interests (especially those of South African and European corporations) are linked with the project;

10. to inquire about the importance of Federal German corporations and state guarantees for carrying out the project;

11. to become familiar with the aims and methods of the liberation movements (above all FRELIMO);

12. to realize that in the struggle between the Portuguese colonial rule and the national liberation movements there are also effective supra-regional (South Africa, Rhodesia - Tanzania, Sambia) and international clashes of spheres of interest (N.A.T.O. - U.S.S.R., China);

13. to be able to ask about the arguments used by groups and organizations in the Federal Republic.

3. Part II - Brazil as an Example of Structural Dependence and Underdevelopment

a) On the Choice of Subject

Whereas in the Portuguese colonies dependence and underdevelopment are maintained by means of direct administrative and military violence corresponding to "simple" forms of exploitation, it is charateristic of the situation of the developing countries as a whole that dependence and underdevelopment are usually maintained by forms of indirect, structural violence, with occasional use of direct violence. 41)

This kind of structural violence cannot be analysed in abstract terms in the classroom, it has to be illustrated with examples. Alongside the criteria mentioned on page 213,when selecting an example one should ask which essential charateristics of structural violence it illustrates.

Brazil seemed to the authors a very suitable example for the following reasons:

- Brazil suffers from all the structural characteristics of underdevelopment which are typical for the so-called third world countries;
- common prejudices, for instance the argument that natural factors are the cause of underdevelopment such as for example the shortage of mineral wealth and areas suitable for cultivation, overpopulation etc.) can easily be revealed as such;
- the discrepancy between reality and potentiality of economic and social development is made especially clear: poverty and underdevelopment exist despite enormous natural resources and despite fairly progressive industrialization;
- there is very serious penetration of the national economy by international corporations. It can be shown that the resulting spectacular economic growth has not led to an improvement in the standard of living for most of the population (growth without development);

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(41) These forms of violence are also refered to as institutionalized forms of violence. Cf Medellin Documents, 2. General Assembly of the Latin American Bishops, 1968, in: Mit Maschinengewehr und Kreuz, ed. by H. Lüning, Reinbek bei Hamburg 1969, p. 136.

- the 1964 coup was different from previous seizures of power by the armed forces and was thus a pointer for all Latin America (militarization of the whole state);
- economically and militarily Brazil plays the role of a sub-centre within the world-wide capitalist system (provision of the Latin American market with consumer goods and arms; threats of military intervention in Uruguay and Bolivia);
- since there are quite a large number of West-German corporations investing in Brazil along with other firms, it is not difficult to establish a link with our own society.

b) Description of the Subject

1. The majority of people in Brazil suffer from famine, poverty, bad housing, disease, illiteracy, and unemployment. (For instance, 900,000 Brazilians have an annual per capita income of 6,500 \$, while another 45 million have to exist on less than 130 \$ a year.)

2. The formal liberation from colonial dependence (the end of Portuguese colonial rule in the 19th century) did not lead to self-sustained social and economic development.

3. The economic and social structure of Brazil has been deformed by centuries of exploitation. The various phases necessary to adapt the Brazilian economy to the needs and requirements of the metropolitan centres (Portugal, Great Britain, U.S.A., more recently the E.E.C. countries and Japan as well) can be portrayed as specific chains of dependence: some examples are sugar planting in the North-East, mining ore in Minas Gerais, the growing of coffee and rubber, to mention but a few. Here is an example of one such chain of dependence: increase in the demand for and price of sugar in Western Europe, especially in Holland (1st metropolis) in the 16th century. Forced sugar cultivation in North Eastern Brazil by Portugal (sub-centre 1/satellite 1) - slave trade, slave labour - concentration of property in a few hands - transfer of profits - low investments, no production for the home market - importation of plant for the sugar raffineries - demand in the North East (sub-centre 2/satellite 2) for more meat, skins, beasts of burden, fat, draft animals - increase in the cattle population - exploitation of the cattle producing areas (sub-centre 3/satellite 3) by the sugar producers - expansion of the grazing areas - retreat of the Indians

(satellite 4) or exploitation of their labour in cattle farming; shifting of sugar production to the West Indies by the Dutch - elimination of the Portuguese - decline of sugar production in the North East - decline of cattle farming - destitution of the country (cf Diagrams 3 and 4).

4. In spite of spectacular industrial projects, Brazil is still mainly an agricultural country. 50% of all exports consist of agricultural products. 55% of the population are employed in agriculture. Typical forms of landed estates found there are the so-called latifundia; smallholdings in the hands of the peasants are being increasingly eliminated (minifundia)

5. Even today, most exports are raw materials (coffee, cocoa, cotton, sugar, iron ore, manganese, copper, oil, uranium) and are mainly grown as monocultures or monopoly products (coffee, iron ore). The income from exports is decreasing due to their dependency on world market prices and the deterioration of the terms of trade.

6. Brazil's economy has largely become denationalized. Raw materials and industry are mainly controlled from abroad (e.g. 90% of the automobile industry, 72% of all energy produced, 70% of mechanical engineering, and so on). Profits are transfered to the metropolitan centres. The shortage of capital leads to an increasing debt based on credit, which in turn increases dependence. Attempts to develop national processing industries in competition with the industries of the metropolitan centres fail (as was the case with the "instant coffee war").

7. Private foreign investments either aim at exploiting raw materials or flow into the tertiary and consumer goods sector. Local firms, originally designed to substitute imports are pushed off the market, even though they could have served as a nucleus for a self-supporting national industry. Because of the transfer of technology which accompanies foreign investments, the supply of jobs does not grow (capital intensive instead of labour intensive production).

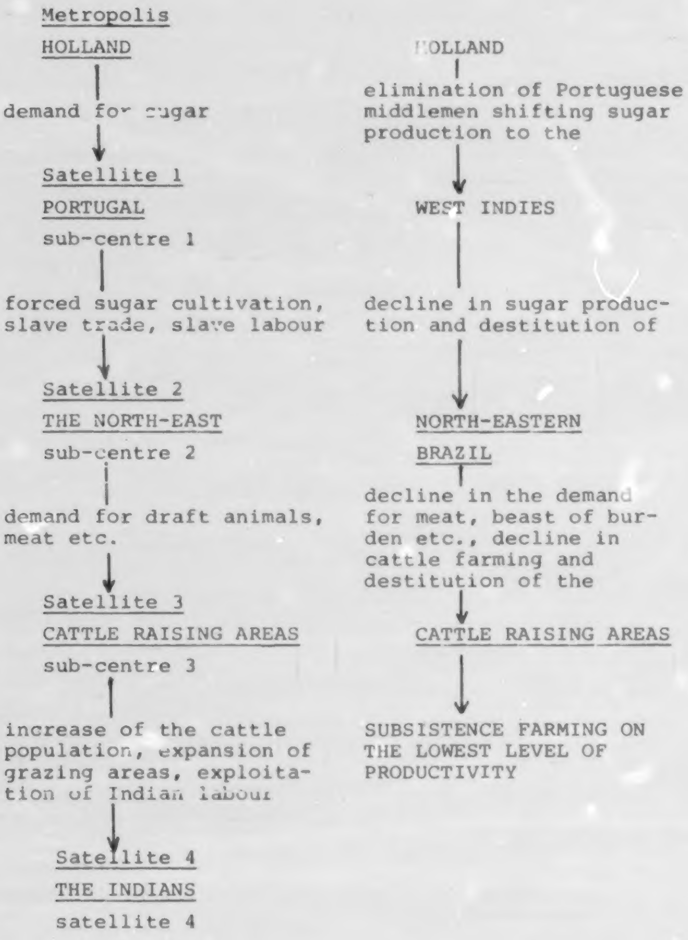
8. Measures to improve the infrastructure are not based on the needs of the population (schools, hospitals etc.) but on the economic interests of foreign firms (for instance, the building of the "trans-Amazon highway").

9. The increasing external polarization between Brazil and the capitalist industrial nations corresponds to an internal polarization between prosperous enclaves (Sao Paulo) and poverty-striken regions (the North East),

Diagram 3 : Example of a Chain of Dependence

Phase 1: "Development" of North-East Brazil in the 16th and 17th centuries

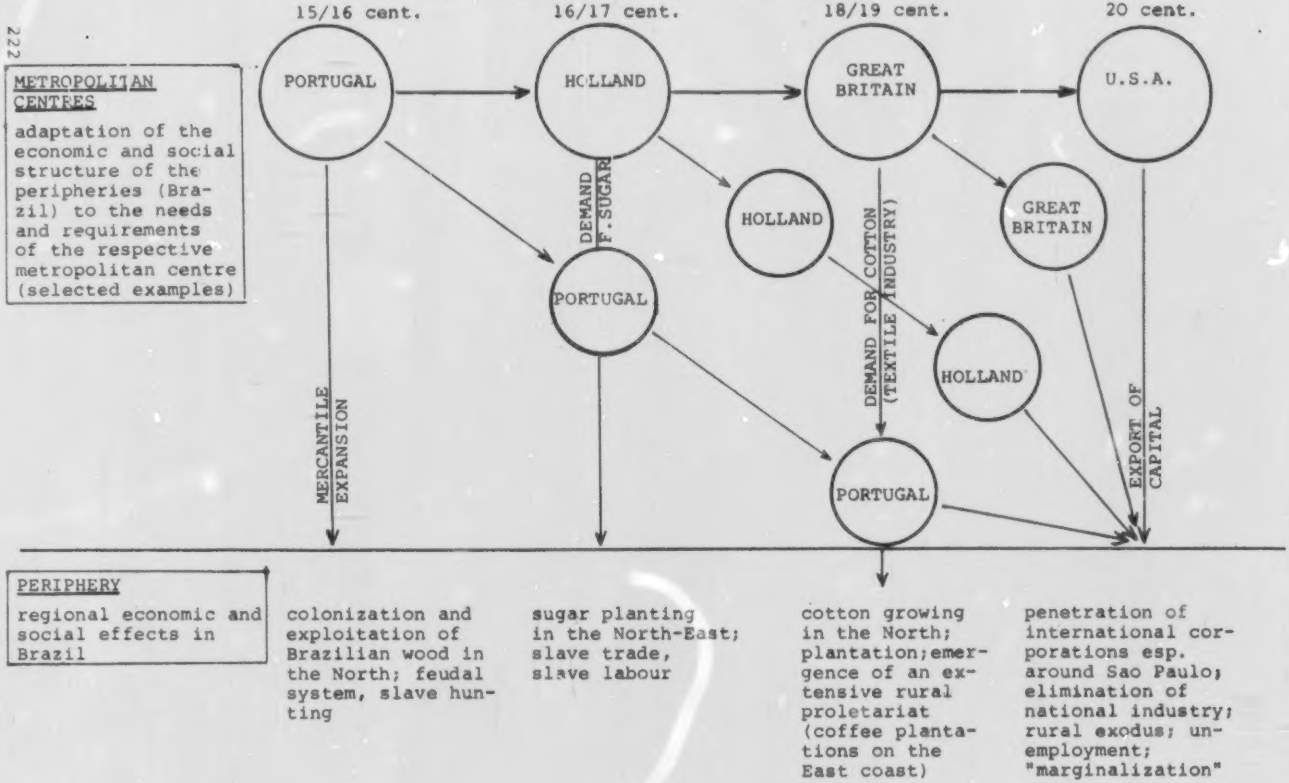
Phase 2: Destitution of the North-East in the 17th and 18th Centuries



Metropolis
HOLLAND
↓
demand for sugar
↓
Satellite 1
PORTUGAL
sub-centre 1
↓
forced sugar cultivation, slave trade, slave labour
↓
Satellite 2
THE NORTH-EAST
sub-centre 2
↓
demand for draft animals, meat etc.
↓
Satellite 3
CATTLE RAISING AREAS
sub-centre 3
↓
increase of the cattle population, expansion of grazing areas, exploitation of Indian labour
↓
Satellite 4
THE INDIANS
satellite 4

HOLLAND
↓
elimination of Portuguese middlemen shifting sugar production to the
↓
WEST INDIES
↓
decline in sugar production and destitution of
↓
NORTH-EASTERN BRAZIL
↓
decline in the demand for meat, beast of burden etc., decline in cattle farming and destitution of the
↓
CATTLE RAISING AREAS
↓
SUBSISTENCE FARMING ON THE LOWEST LEVEL OF PRODUCTIVITY

Diagram 4: On the Historical Process of Change from a Metropolitan Centre to a Peripheral Area



15/16 cent.
16/17 cent.
18/19 cent.
20 cent.
PORTUGAL
HOLLAND
GREAT BRITAIN
U.S.A.
PORTUGAL
DEMAND F.SUGAR
HOLLAND
DEMAND FOR COTTON (TEXTILE INDUSTRY)
GREAT BRITAIN
HOLLAND
PORTUGAL
MERCANTILE EXPANSION
EXPORT OF CAPITAL

METROPOLITAN CENTRES

adaptation of the economic and social structure of the peripheries (Brazil) to the needs and requirements of the respective metropolitan centre (selected examples)

PERIPHERY

regional economic and social effects in Brazil

colonization and exploitation of Brazilian wood in the North; feudal system, slave hunting

sugar planting in the North-East; slave trade, slave labour

cotton growing in the North; plantation; emergence of an extensive rural proletariat (coffee plantations on the East coast)

penetration of international corporations esp. around Sao Paulo; elimination of national industry; rural exodus; unemployment; "marginalization" between the ruling elite in the enclaves and the proletarian masses, who as a result of the rural exodus and unemployment in the industrial sector live in the "Favelas" on the edge of these enclaves: neo-colonialism is continued in internal colonialism.

10. Historical attempts to develop a national capitalist economy after the world slump and especially after 1945 failed (Vargas, Kubitschek, Goulart).

11. In today's Brazil structural violence is maintained by direct violence exercised by the national elite; the dependence of the national government on foreign corporations and their governments can be clearly illustrated (1964 military coup, institutional acts, military aid from the U.S.A. etc.).

12. The example of Brazil can be used to discuss strategies for change and to relate the position of this particular country to developments in other Latin American states (Cuba, Chile, Peru, Bolivia).

c) Learning Goals

1. To realize that the majority of the Brazilian population live at subsistence level;

2. to study the extent to which the underdevelopment of a country is due to natural factors, such as a shortage of natural resources;

3. to recognize that the development of underdevelopment has passed through different historical phases;

4. to realize that formal political liberation from colonial dependence does not necessarily lead to independent development;

5. to realize that the relations between the metropolitan centre and the colony effect employment structures even in the remotest regions of Brazil;

6. to recognize that even today the structure of the Brazilian economy is still mainly that of an agricultural monoculture;

7. to study what forms of dependence develop from a single crop economy and from one-sided production;

8. to check the extent to which measures to improve the infrastructure are likely to improve the living conditions of the populace;

9. to investigate whether investments of international corporations improve the job supply or the living conditions of the populace;

10. to ask what benefits international corporations draw from their investments in Brazil;

11. to ask to what extent West-German firms are involved in the control of the Brazilian economy;

12. to ask what forms of dependence result from the foreign penetration of the Brazilian economy;

13. to study the social stratification in Brazil and relate it to the ownership of the means of production;

14. to be able to study possibilities and limits to developing a national capitalist economy with reference to historical and present-day examples;

15. to realize that structural violence in Brazil is maintained by direct military violence;

16. to develop counter-strategies and strategies for change and relate them to the situation in other Latin American states.

In conclusion, Diagram 5 is designed to present the cognitive learning goals aimed at in both parts of the project in the form of an overall sketch.

IV. On how to Convey the Material and Learning Goals

On the basis of the above statements describing and presenting the subject the reader might have gained the impression that the authors are supporters of a concept according to which political education is exclusively interpreted as the transfer of the results of research in social science to school teaching. 42) Although an attempt was made in chapter II to organize the subject from the communication point of view, we realize quite clearly that this predominantly subject-related description does not do justice to the complexity of these processes.

In view of the fact that most of the didactic approaches, text-books and teaching models which have been available until now are unsatisfactory or even questionable

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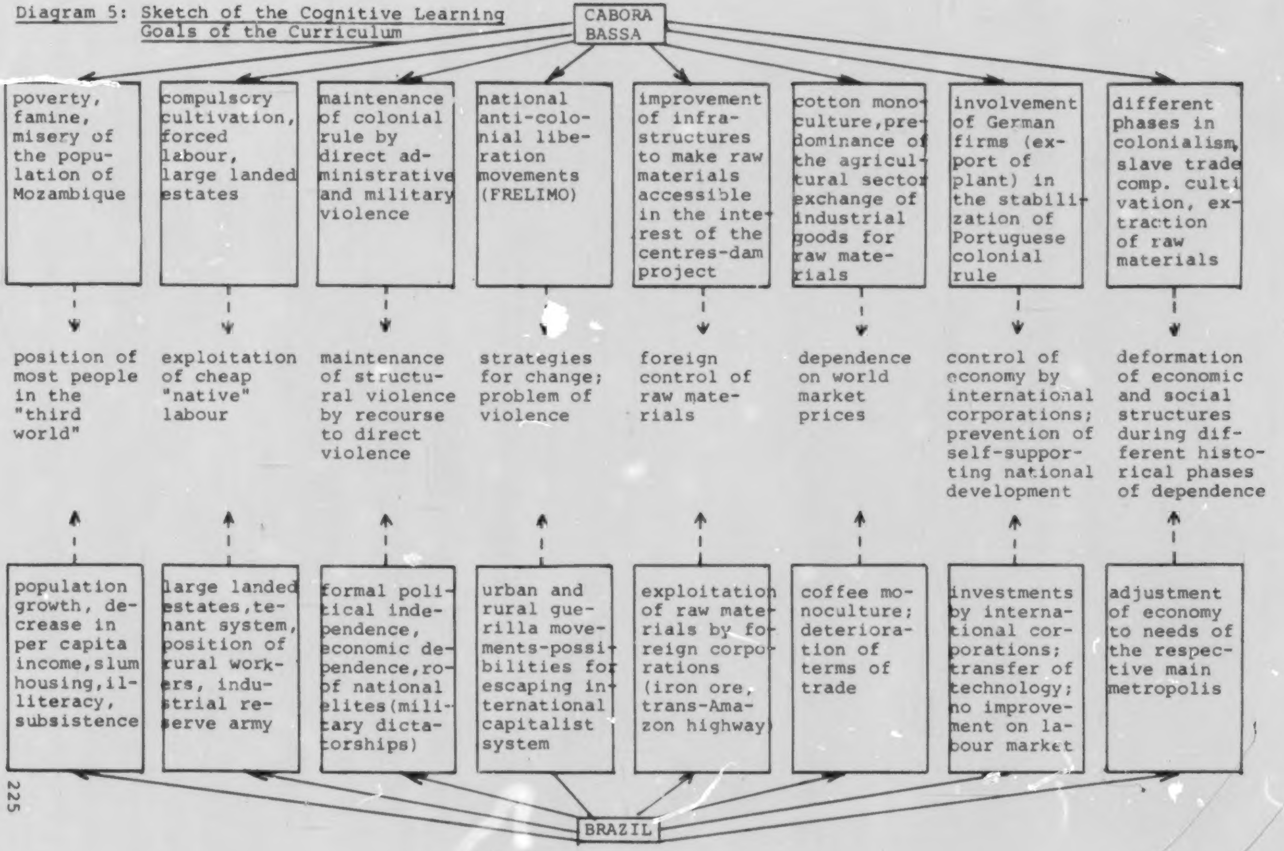
(42) On the critique of such a concept see R. Schmiederer, Zur Kritik der Politischen Bildung, Frankfurt 1971, p. 92.

Diagram 5: Sketch of the Cognitive Learning Goals of the Curriculum



CABORA BASSA		BRAZIL
poverty, famine, misery of the population of Mozambique	position of most people in the "third world"	population growth, decrease in per capita income, slum housing, illiteracy, subsistence
compulsory cultivation, forced labour, large landed estates	exploitation of cheap "native" labour	large landed estates, tenant system, position of rural workers, industrial reserve army
maintenance of colonial rule by direct administrative and military violence	maintenance of structural violence by recourse to direct violence	formal political independence, economic dependence, role of national elites (military dictatorships)
national anti-colonial liberation movements (FRELIMO)	strategies for change; problem of violence	urban and rural guerilla movements-possibilities for escaping international capitalist system
improvement of infrastructures to make raw materials accessible in the interest of the centres-dam project	foreign control of raw materials	exploitation of raw materials by foreign corporations (iron ore, trans-Amazon highway)
cotton monoculture, predominance of the agricultural sector exchange of industrial goods for raw materials	dependence on world market prices	coffee monoculture; deterioration of terms of trade
involvement of German firms (export of plant) in the stabilization of Portuguese colonial rule	control of economy by international corporations; prevention of self-supporting national development	investments by international corporations; transfer of technology; no improvement on labour market
different phases in colonialism, slave trade comp. cultivation, extraction of raw materials	deformation of economic and social structures during different historical phases of dependence	adjustment of economy to needs of the respective main metropolis

as far as contents go, [43] especially in relation to the subject of International Conflicts, surely it is first of all necessary to make an adequate analysis of the subject. This is both a precondition for setting up teaching material with a *relevant subject matter* and *learning goals* which can be derived from this, in order to make pupils capable of self-determination and participation, which in the final analysis also means making them capable of dealing critically with information from their immediate and extended environment as well as with images of themselves and their environment.

Whenever it is a question of initiating organized processes of learning, the person *teaching* must be assumed to have the ability to make choices and to analyse information and material. In addition, it is only on the basis of adequate knowledge of the structure of the material to be taught that the teacher will be able to go into prejudices and impulses on the part of those he is teaching in allowing the group as much *self-control* as possible, without having to give up the learning goals in doing so.

However, if the teacher sticks dogmatically to the proposed teaching project, there is the danger that for fear of "losing the thread" he will impose the learning goals on the group in an authoritarian manner and will set up barriers to learning instead of eliminating them by making his classes too rigid.

It is against this background that the selection and analysis of the subject must be seen: *it should neither be seen as a canon to be learnt by the pupils nor as a linear programme, the sequence of which must be strictly adhered to*. The accompanying learning goals should not be seen as a cognitive behaviour pattern to be aimed at; on the contrary, the goals are designed to indicate the direction of the *desired learning processes*. Moreover, our list of cognitive learning goals needs to be supplemented by a catalogue of *instrumental learning goals*, such as for instance the analysis of texts, diagrams, statistics, pictures, films, cartographic material, and so on. Any statements about which instrumental abilities and skills are to be conveyed to the children must be based on the children's previous knowledge and the teaching materials used and can therefore only be formulated when the teaching project becomes more concrete.

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(43) H. Nicklas and Ä. Ostermann, Friedensbezogene Lernziele und die Umsetzung von Friedensforschung in didaktische Modelle, in: Hesse Foundation of Peace and Conflict Research, Frankfurt, Information No. 4/1972, pp. 132-138.

During the discussion on the possibilities and tasks of political education there is agreement that its goals should not be limited to simply conveying purely cognitive and instrumental abilities, but that it should include the changing of behaviour and attitudes.
a) in relation to the way teaching is organized,
b) in relation to already existing prejudices and attitudes,
c) in relation to a class-specific differentiation of learning processes.

On a) In political education aiming at emancipation and democratization, there should be no distinction between form and content, between the goals of education and the way they are presented. The ability of pupils to participate in processes of social decision-making is expressed in the classroom in their ability to be involved in the planning and implementation of teaching as conscious learning. Conscious learning is a teaching principle designed to enable pupils to make a rational assessment of social conditions. 44)

Self-government and conscious learning as the conditions for and motivation (momentum) of emancipation must be interpreted here as learning goals. In view of the framework within which teaching takes place, they can only be developed step by step. 45) This means that teaching must be organized according to the following principles:

- "Results" (knowledge, insights etc.) should not be "conveyed"; the pupils must be given the chance to produce results on their own and acquire their knowledge themselves;

- prejudices, pre-conceived ideas etc. should not be dismissed by the teacher while he supplies the pupils with the "right" answer. On the contrary, by means of a suitable working method and by making suitable material available pupils should be given the opportunity of correcting their errors themselves;

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(44) Conscious learning has also been refered to as heuristic learning. Cf. Ch. Wulf, Curriculumentwicklung in den New Social Studies in den USA, in: Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte, Beilage zur Wochenzeitung DAS PARLAMENT, B 6/72, pp. 8 ff.

(45) Rahmenrichtlinien, see footnote 7 above, pp. 10-11.

- democratic forms of interaction must be initiated in the classroom. 46)

On b) In the context of political education, attitudes can be seen as those patterns of behaviour and interpretation which have a selective effect on information about social realities, i.e. they tend only to accept information which confirms existing attitudes and prejudices. 47) There is no sufficient information available about the possibility of altering pre-conceived ideas in children of school age. Even so, it seems certain that it will not prove possible to change pupils' attitudes by directly confronting them with their "mistaken ideas" and subjecting them to the pressure of information in batches. Apart from the rare opportunity of improving pre-conceived ideas by direct confrontation with social reality, in the context of learning processes at school, the alteration of behaviour and attitudes can only be aimed at by conceiving learning goals and by organizing teaching accordingly.

The following points are worth remembering in connection with the need to change behaviour and attitudes:

- Readiness to submit one's own attitudes to critical reflexion;
- reduction of a fixation on authority, encouragement of self-confidence and self-assurance;
- articulating and pursuing one's own interests;
- ability to cooperate and communicate, encouragement of the showing of solidarity in one's behaviour;
- sensitivization towards oppression, exploitation and external control;
- reduction of political apathy and indifference.

Thus, if emancipatory learning processes cannot only be determined by the content and method of what is taught, but must follow on from what the respective group of pupils already knows, then the question arises as to the value of the sequence of learning proposed by the authors, in view of the complexity of the learning goals referred to above. In other words, to what extent are the authors' teaching projects exemplary?

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(46) Cf R. Schmiederer in Hessisches Intitut für Lehrerfortbildung, record of the course 1799, Zur Didaktik der politischen Bildung, 1971, p. 103.

(47) Cf K. Mollenhauer, Erziehung und Emanzipation, München 1968, p. 154. Cf also the theory of cognitive consistency or dissonance following Festinger's studies. See also the important volume of Robert P. Abelson et.al., Theories of Cognitive Consistency. A Sourcebook, Chicago 1968.

Here, it should be pointed out that according to the results of research into learning, at least as far as the present state of the art goes, a decision in favour of certain learning or teaching methods cannot be rigorously derived from empirical findings. 48) The results of past research are only sufficient to hypothetically weigh up teaching and learning processes or individual elements of the same to see how they can make it possible to attain certain learning goals and to use the more plausible ones for teaching experimentally. 49) The results of this for the concept of so-called teaching models is that their content and method is only "exemplary" in relation to concrete groups of pupils. On this basis, the role of teaching projects is not primarily their transferability but their ability to point to possibilities for "operationalizing" learning goals.

Among other things, this means that the selected subjects "Cabora Bassa" and "Brazil" can in principle be exchanged for other examples which perhaps appear more "topical" to the pupils or the teacher. It also means that the subject described is only one of several possibilities for presenting emancipatory learning goals in the curricular context of political education at secondary level. It is necessary to point this out to meet the possible objection that in political education at school level one is primarily dealing with an audience whose field of experience is still largely determined by a closeness to so-called primary groups (family, school, peer groups) which is why it is more important to make, say, the institution of school itself a subject for teaching, rather than the problems of development and underdevelopment. The authors feel that an objection of this kind is based on a false premise. It is not so much a question of whether the subject of "school" is more suitable than the "third world" but of how these two subjects can be related to each other in a meaningful way in the course of several years' teaching (coordination and synchronization of subjects). Until now there have been no convincing answers to these questions. The social studies guidelines for level I in secondary schools in Hesse seem to contain some useful

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(48) On the discussion of the current state of the evaluation research see Ch. Wulf, Curriculumsevaluation, in: Zeitschrift für Pädagogik, 2/1971, p. 175 ff.; also Ch. Wulf (ed.), Evaluation, München 1972.

(49) K. Fackiner , Zur Didaktik des politischen Unterrichts, Introduction, in: K. Fackiner (ed.), Handbuch des politischen Unterrichts, Frankfurt 1971, pp. 15-16.

ideas in this direction. The breakdown of the subject into four *fields of learning* "socialization", "economics", "public works", and "intersocial conflicts" which, as is expressly stated, are closely connected, seems to us to offer adequate possibilities for classifying the present subject.

At this juncture, we would like to give an example for the possible allocation of subject key-words for level I in secondary school:

Diagram 6: *Extract from a Possible Allocation of Key-Words to Subjects*

	Field I	Field II	Field III	Field IV
	Socialization	Economics	Public Works	Intersocial Conflicts
class 5	...	...	...	...
class 6	...	...	...	...
class 7	...	evolution and development of the capitalist mode of production	...	"Cabora Bassa"
class 8	training of apprentices		land speculation/town planning	"Brazil"
class 9	...	...	...	armamentism
class 10	...	...	...	...

At least four subjects from the different fields of learning should be dealt with in a year. The subdivision into four fields of learning does not amount to a subdivision of the content of these fields but serves as an aid in organizing classes. Thus, for instance, it will not be possible to deal with the subject of the "third world" without including the subject of economics. The key-words are intended as suggestions on operationalizing learning goals and not as a "catalogue of material".

On c) The emancipatory potential contained in a qualitatively and quantitatively improved supply of information will only begin to show if it is possible to organize learning processes so as to allow the pupils to *express their* interests. 50) For this, the following conditions must be fulfilled:

- the subject to be learnt must be directly connected with the interests of the pupils;
- the subject to be learnt must go beyond the immediate interests of the pupils;
- the subject to be learnt must be important for the emancipation of the pupils.

When organizing learning processes to meet these standards, the class-specific need of the pupils should be taken into account. 51)

So-Called Middle-Class Pupils:

> "The expectations of pupils from the middle class are very much determined by the idea that individual chances of advancement can be guaranteed by individual proof of achievement. This individualistic attitude underestimates the significance of economic conditions for dependence and overlooks the limits to individual aspirations to advancement by these conditions." 52)

Among other things, this means that the presentation of a social analysis to these children can provoke considerable resistance from them, because of the predominantly individual bias of their interests. In groups of pupils mainly recruited from the middle classes, it might initially prove necessary to question the individual image of society which prevails in their minds and to make a problem of individual opportunities for advancement. This could be done in the classroom by starting from the limited number of university places available and investigating how the change in vocational structures has effected the job situation, say, of salaried employees (modernization of their activities, open-plan offices etc.). The aim of this sort of approach should be to point out the limits

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(50) O. Negt, Soziologische Phantasie und exemplarisches Lernen. Zur Theorie der Arbeiterbildung, Frankfurt 1968.

(51) The following remarks are of hypothetical character inasmuch as up to now there are no empirically fundamental analyses on class-specifically organized political learning processes in school.

(52) Rahmenrichtlinien, see footnote 7 above, pp. 174-75.

of individually based opportunities and to make it clear that they are an expression of social and economic inequalities and of dependence. In this way it should be possible to arouse interest in a more detailed study of these inequalities and dependent relationships with a view to changing them.

Pupils from the So-Called Lower Classes:

The situation of children from the so-called lower classes is characterized by

- outside control of work through standardized rules or by direct supervision;
- few individual opportunities for advancement; promotion (seen in this conext as "higher wages") depends on collective action;
- job insecurity.

It is against this roughly ountlined backgound 53) that the self-assessment of the so-called middle classes must be seen in comparison with the different approach of members of the so-called lower classes.

> "Whereas in the middle classes, individualistic ideas based on the individual personality are predominant and should be seen in the light of this group's individual expectations of advancement, respect of individual differences is only of little significance in the worker's life, because his way of looking at things does not depend on subjective individual abilities." 54)

This self-assessment is an expression of the experience that the social position of the individual is largely determined by social and economic dependence and cannot basically be improved through individual efforts. Whereas the parents are particularly subject to external social control at work, this is felt very strongly by their children at school: as a middle-class institution, school almost exclusively rewards behaviour which conforms with middle class ideas and in teaching various subjects hardly takes account of the social problems and interests of lower class children, which in turn prevents these children from developing their readiness to learn and their intellectual potential. The resulting permanent feeling of failure also

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(53) Cf W. Gottschalch, M. Neumann-Schönwetter and G. Sukup, Sozialisationsforschung. Materialien, Probleme, Kritik, Frankfurt 1971.

(54) See footnote 53 above, pp. 91-92.

damages these children's self-esteem, who increasingly see their situation in school as something foreign to them and stop making efforts to adjust to the demands school makes on them.

This lack of motivation to learn, which has often been observed in lower class children, can, we feel, be mobilized if the subjects they are to be taught are connected with their own individual experience of discrimination and oppression and if they are made to see this experience as the expression of social dependence and are shown strategies to change their situation. 55)

The extent to which subjects and learning goals can be put across in practice can only be decided upon by the teaching projects now undergoing concrete study. This will involve a discussion of the following questions and problems:

- Which curricular context of political education should the project be allocated to? Which problems taken from the field of "intersocial conflicts" precede the chosen subject, which will follow it?
- What opportunities of participation in the selection of subjects, the definition of learning goals and in making teaching material available do pupils have? How does the relative lack of knowledge about the problems of the developing countries limit their opportunities for participation?
- To what extent can pupils be involved in the actual practice of teaching? How should the demand for conscious learning be reflected in the arrangement of the material, the formulation of questions etc.?
- How can a "teaching model" be designed which is not a learning programme but a proposal for learning?
- Can criteria for assessing the results of the learning process be established which go beyond quantifiable statements?
- How can learning goals and "spontaneous" wishes, remarks and questions be conveyed to the pupils?
- To what extent must the goals formulated be reduced (cut down) or corrected because of the general teaching conditions and the specific abilities of the group to be taught?

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(55) Cf O. Negt, footnote 22 above, p. 73 ff.

- What possibilities do the pupils have of gathering experience outside school (e.g. through television programmes, interviews, participation in meetings and demonstrations)? Can discussions be organized at school (for instance with representatives of foreign embassies and consulates, with representatives of the liberation movements, with spokesmen of different political parties...)?

- How can class-specific learning processes be designed (composition of groups, selection of media, etc.)?

- What questions and categories can be formulated for the analysis of intersocial structures of dominance?

- How can the "readiness" to show international solidarity be defined in this context?

- To what extent does the school set-up (technical and staff facilities) permit the multimedial arrangement of teaching materials (texts, pictures, films, t.v. recordings, tape recordings, etc.)? To what extent is material about the "third world" available at all?

- Can the subject be dealt with within the present school timetable? What are the organizational possibilities for combining subjects (number of hours, arrangement of timetable, coordinated conferences...)?

- How are teachers suited to teaching about the "third world" through their training? Can learning processes for teachers be organized under present circumstances?

- Are conflicts (with parents, pupils, teachers, the school governors and supervisors to be expected both in connection with the subjects taught and with the way teaching is organized? What strategies of conflict can be pursued?

V. Conclusions

The present study presents the theoretical background for a curriculum which is now being developed. The subject "structural dependence and underdevelopment" was selected because it is one of the central problems to be dealt with in connection with "intersocial conflicts". 56) Other subjects, which are equally topical and important, such as for example "problems of the dynamics of armaments" present further possibilities for emancipatory learning processes, and in the long term view it will be necessary to group them together to form a unit when compiling this field of learning. However, this can only be done by working on concrete, synchronized curriculum projects. This study is to be understood as a modest attempt in this direction.

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(56) Cf footnote 9.

JOACHIM HOFMANN/REINER STEINWEG (FRG)

PEACE EDUCATION: STRATEGIES OF IMPLEMENTATION
Concepts and Experiences

It was the goal of working party IV of the conference on Education for Peace and Social Justice to discuss implementation strategies, that are strategies to put across "Peace education". In the available time (a bare total of ten hours) it was of course hardly possible to produce results capable of being ordered systematically but it did lead to a number of many sided and colourful ideas being put forward, not to mention some well tried ideas and examples. However, there was no joint discussion of this experience, its value, its subjective premises and objective prerequisites. Since there was no over-riding theory on peace education placing it in its overall social context and also no clear concept of strategy, it was not possible either to decide on the value of the individual suggestions. No answer was given to a question asked by one of the participants on the criteria for assessing the effectiveness of certain strategies and on the conditions under which they might influence things.

In these circumstances, the best solution seemed to be to present practical examples as such and then to elaborate on them and add to them after oral presentation, since the main value of the discussion obviously lay in this kind of mutual exchange of information. The phrasing of the twelve detailed reports, which are here kept separate from the presentation and discussion of the remaining points, was approved of and/or corrected by the rapporteur in question, with the exception of No. 1. Apart from No. 2, the rapporteurs were actually involved in the measures and projects described in their reports and are still available for further information. If we criticise the discussion and individual examples in the following paragraphs, we would like those concerned not to misunderstand this to be subsequent carping. Since we ourselves were also involved in the discussion this is really self-criticism. We feel that this kind of criticism or self-criticism is necessary so that future discussions on strategies for peace education can be made more purposeful right from the start.

Right away, a distinction was made between two main strategies: one which tried to put across new contents in the framework of the old existing school system, the other which tried to use "new forms" (Johan Galtung) 1). In this connec-

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1) The names of the work group participants are given in parenthesis.

tion, it was pointed out that the traditional didactic methods and the corresponding teaching rituals were much too strong to let new contents produce palpable changes; even new forms outside the school are seriously threatened by the sheer force of existing systems, especially as long as this threat is not explicitly included in strategies for change (Ingeborg Hiller-Ketterer). An attempt must be made to combine the two strategies (Kirsten Schäfer). Schools are burdened with too many "vested interests" to be able to abolish them; in the final analysis, even parents would want to preserve schools (Hartmut von Hentig).

On this point, we would like to comment that in this discussion, Galtung used a term for "school" which he borrowed from Illich's work 2) and which historically and analytically does not appear to be particularly relevant. First of all, even "radical" alternatives to "the" school once more lead to the emergence of educational institutions and as such display characteristics which in the past have already been part and parcel of "school" in one or other form or variation. It is not "the" school itself which has to be abolished; the existing one has to be replaced by a different one. Secondly, a strategy which is lopsidedly reduced to "forms" probably leads to false expectations and wrong solutions. The forms themselves are not the primary problem but the social interests which leave their mark on both content and form. A basic distinction between various strategies should not be based on whether they have their point of departure inside or outside existing forms, but on which social impulse is dominant in them - that is a technocratic or an emancipatory one. Even in "new" forms, reactionary, elitist and similar contents and attitudes can become dominant and established. A warning example is the strong, almost irrevesible differentiation according to achievement and the pecking order in some "modern" comprehensive schools. Quite apart from the fact that it is socially impossible, as Hartmut von Hentig rightly pointed out, an "elimination" of schools (Illich) would not necessarily guarantee an emancipatory education.

Even so, most of the discussion was based on Galtung's distinction between these two basic strategies, which we therefore adopt in a slightly different form to describe and present the detailed examples from practical experience and the results of the rest of the discussion. The examples can be distributed among the following five "fields":

I. Activities outside school;

II. Measures which can be carried out in the classroom within the traditional school system;

III. Projects which go beyond the individual teacher's abilities;

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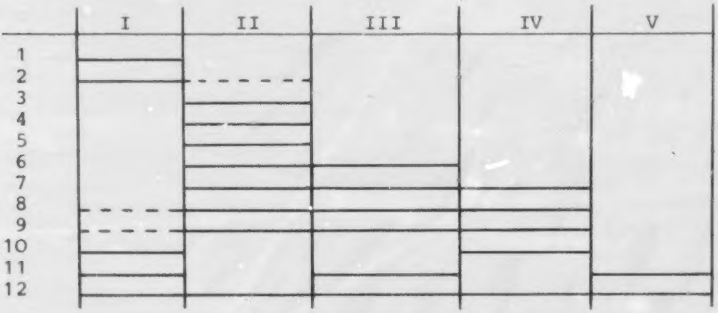
2) Cf. among others: I. Illich: "Deschooling society". New York, Evanston, San Francisco, London 1970.

IV. Changes in the structure of the whole school in relation to the society of which it is part;

V. "International" school concepts and activities in peace education.

The twelve examples which are separated from the continuous text which now follows are distributed among the five "fields" as follows:



Legend: Continuous lines mean that a project includes measures which touch on all the fields they pass through and can be put into practice at least partially in all of them.

I. The first example of a strategy "outside school" was justified by the argument that the existing school system might be able to "corrupt" the new content, the new "message", if it were to be used.

Example 1: Discussion and Action Groups (Northern Ireland)

The "Northern Ireland Institute" is at present carrying out the following project with the financial support of the World Council of Churches and the Quakers: those assisting in the project form small informal discussion groups, especially in areas with socially underprivileged catholic and protestant groups. In doing so, some of the simple, popular games used are such ones as twenty questions, which are made to include some questions about aggression, war, the environment etc. As this goes on, some of the results of peace research are translated into simple, everyday language. It transpires that among these groups there is tremendous interest in finding out what is being done to them, what is going on. Once the groups have been formed, it is suggested that they familiarize themselves with the life stories of very poor people, prisoners and the like, in order to compare them with the representatives of other classes of society.

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> This is followed by asking people in various "public authorities" to find out how they see society. The next step is a description of the local history of the last 25 years in the form of street theatre shows, newspapers, posters and exhibitions. This description forces the participants to recognize and articulate relationsships. After that, neighbouring localities and whole districts are included in the investigation. This finally leads to the first political activities: petitions, protests, fasts and so on. In this connection, those associated with the project do not expect these actions to be successful; what is important is the learning process, which starts from failures and goes on to give insights into the thought processes and behavioural structures of the authorities and the population. The goal (and hope) of the project is to replace the isolation of the individual with new forms of solidarity, solidarity which includes poor people in both the protestant and catholic areas. (Rapporteur: Vithal Rajan) 3)

Since the project has not been in force for long, it is not yet possible to make an analysis of the methods and results. Nor was this attempted by the group. One thing which is certainly to be welcomed is that the conflict in Northern Ireland is seen essentially as a social conflict which is only superficially religious. Whether or not the political solidarity aimed at will actually emerge to any extent will probably depend on the extent to which those working on the project can be made use of. However, according to Rajan's view, it also depends on the progress made in peace research, that is to say whether it is in a position to produce results which are relevant to the conflict in Northern Ireland and which can be "translated" into a simple language. Here, we feel that the problem of "translation" has not been given due reflection. At least it should be established whether or not it is possible to simplify the arguments in such a way as to preserve their essence and stringency. However, even if a certain success is achieved, it is still necessary to ask what this sort of solidarity leads to, whether it will become political, what weapons it will use and whether it will finally produce forms of organisation which will outlast a long confrontation. The report gives no information about aims of this kind, and noone asked about them. What is clear is that this "model" can only be used as a supplement to school work, not as an alternative model, especially because it presupposes a certain elementary knowledge which is provided by the traditional school.

Whereas the group of addressees is only vaguely outlined in the first example, in the second the organisers turned to a relatively uniform group, both from the social and from the point of view of class structure, i.e. a group of school leavers most of whom later "wanted" to become apprentices,

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3) Vithal Rajan, Belfast Bt. 9,7 AJ 169 Lisburn Road.

workers or unskilled workers.

Example 2: Simulation of a working situation (Model I)

In the framework of the subject "introduction to the working world", the staff of the Hesse Youth Education Centre made the following experiment in June 1970. In the Youth Centre they made a model of a box factory where the pupils of a class of leavers from secondary school were able to work for three days i.e. they had to make boxes. The staff of the Youth Centre were not introduced to the pupils as teachers; they played the role of "management".

The pupils had to apply for various jobs and were placed in various "departments" as workers, mastercraftsmen, accountants or managerial assistents. After they had been familiarized with their respective functions, "management" reduced the time allocated for doing different jobs, (the "time-keeper", also a pupil, was given the necessary instructions) kept "workers" on longer to do unpaid overtime, gave some workers their notice under rather threadbare pretexts. Some of the pupils were admittedly angry at how they were being treated, but it did not occur to them to do anything about the situation although the reprisals got increasingly worse, and they did not know that the "management" was acting in this way for educational reasons.

Next to the factory a pub had been set up for the young people, where they could go in their spare time. In this pub informal discussions between the pupils and the landlord started up (the pupils were also ignorant of the fact that the landlord was also a staff member). In this phase of the game in which the pupils were subjected to "management" repression without being able to do anything to protect themselves, the landlord was told to point out to them that there is such a thing as the law on the constitution of forms, the works council and so on.

After the pupils had informed themselves about their rights, they hesitantly decided to go on strike. There were some serious clashes, but the pupils managed to assert their rights, at least in part. Now the game was interrupted and the whole experiment was discussed for one and a half days. During discussion, the pupils condemned working conditions as being much too severe, claiming that they would never occur in practice.

Later several pupils from that class wrote and told those who had conducted the experiment that real working conditions such as those at their own job were just as tough as those in the game. Some, who tried to assert their rights, lost their apprenticeship as a result. All those involved considered this experiment to be a very good demonstration of possible working conditions and of the worker's chances of defending himself against them. (Rapporteur: Manfred Petsch) 4)

Here again, this is not an alternative to traditional school, as was explicitly stated, but a complementary function. The point of departure and the initial possibilities were just as concretely determined as were the social perspectives of the participants and the type of result expected. The shortcoming of this kind of project lies in its isolated occurence. If the pupils are simply told in general terms that they can "do something", that they must show "solidarity", that there is a legal basis for certain demands and so on, in a concrete conflict, they will still be at a disadvantage and in all probability a disservice will have been done to "social justice" and to the individual. Apart from exceptions, the practice of resistance only has a chance of success if it is also possible to convey a continuous political working context, in concrete terms, if it is possible to integrate the individual in functioning political or trade union groups which guarantee the necessary cover and framework for further reflexion. Even so it can be assumed that this model's remarkable realism first enabled the would-be apprentices to experience their "class standing" clearly and in all awareness and showed them that in principle they can do something to change it by counteracting ruling interests with organised strategies.

II. Three examples were given of strategies which can be implemented by individual (or isolated) teachers within the existing school system, i.e. during classroom work for which he alone is responsible:

Example 3:Role playing in vocational school (Model II)

In several vocational schools in Nürtingen (Baden-Württemberg), in religious instruction which in these schools has now partially assumed the function of social affairs, 11 teaching units were introduced by means of role playing ("the family", "training", "school"). The class was divided up into 4 groups; each group selected a typical conflict situation which fits in with the overall subject (see above), either real or imagined. The pupils decided on the construction, solution, role description and distribution of the conflict themselves. The mainly short games were presented in the classroom and recorded on a tape recorder. In the following lessons, the recordings were analysed. As the result of the classroom discussion the conflict was then put on the blackboard under the three headings: "subject of conflict", "role behaviour", and "conflict solution".

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4) Manfred Petsch, 6149 Ober-Hambach, Odenwaldschule; cf. also: U. Lüers, "Selbsterfahrung und Klassenlage. Voraussetzungen zur politischen Bildung". München 1971, 123 pp.

Among other things, this makes it possible to point out that the cause of the conflict, the subject of the conflict, is not usually solved on an objective, rational basis but that the group structure usually also has a decisive effect. In order to encourage social sensitivity, the behaviour of individual players was often also submitted to analysis using the "child - teenager - adult" method according to R. and H. Hauser 5); according to this method there is a child hidden in each individual at every age, or a teenager, or an adult with typical behaviour patterns, one of which dominates at any given time - all of which have to be accepted by the others. First of all, it was shown that even in the most backward and authoritarian type of school in the Federal Republic it is possible to carry out experiments of this kind even if this is done at the expense of being isolated by the other staff. Secondly it was shown that apprentices, who are after all not in a very favourable position in view of their family, school and vocational socialization, develop an amazing degree of imagination in role playing and were motivated to take part in intensive discussion of the problems which thus emerged. (Rapporteur: Burkhard Steinmetz) 6)

A question which must be asked is whether a game in which the "roles" are limited in advance reveals truly observable behaviour or simply schematic concepts of "typical" behaviour which has been instilled in the person as he passes through different phases of socialization. Experience with role playing gathered with apprentices outside school does in part point in this direction. For instance, the "father" was always portrayed as someone who reads the newspaper at the breakfast table although this behaviour pattern hardly ever occurs in working class families. Even so systematically combined with other methods under the control of committed teachers this method could release a critical potential which could hardly be attained by any other means in vocational schools. It would be interesting to investigate whether and if so how these young people change their long term behaviour in factories and alter their attitudes to trades-unions and whether they are in a position to use what they have learnt in critical situations (for instance in a strike).
The same teacher has also tried out another teaching game which directly touches on peace research, at least in con-

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5) Cf. R. and H. Hauser, Die kommende Gesellschaft. Handbuch für soziale Gruppenarbeit und Gemeinwesenarbeit. Wuppertal, München 1971.

6) Burkhard Steinmetz, 74 Tübingen, Christofstr. 27; cf. also U. Lüers, among others, pp 167 pp loc. cit.

tent (it was mentioned briefly in the discussion but not in any great detail).

Example 4: Conscientious objectors in front of the selection committee

Being a conscientious objector (CO) is one of the few action models which are in principle accesible to every male individual and at the same time has a direct political dimension and effect. That is why conscientious objectors are valuable as examples for political education. Furthermore, conscientious objectors represent certain essential aspects which are also relevant for peace, such as for example, basic rights, freedom of conscience, aggression, military strategy, structural violence and social justice. This also profers the opportunity for using teaching methods covering several subjects. Without going into all the subjects which can be related to CO, it is necessary to refer here to the possibilities for playing a game. It is advisable to organise an imagined session such as takes place before the real selection committees. The game should only be carried out once the pupils have some prior knowledge about the subject and the procedure. Also girls can easily participate at this stage.

The roles are distributed as follows: the applicant, perhaps his counsel, the chairman of the committee who is in charge of negotiations and three other committee members who decide on the application. There are some reference works available which give information about the special problems involved in playing this game. Experience has shown that pupils cannot always subordinate their emotions to the roles they are playing; for this reason it is a good idea if the teacher can play the role of the chairman of the committee in order to keep to the rules. This is important because the pupils have to practise being "worn down" by procedures (Luhmann) as a social situation within the game.

The analysis of the game with the whole class taking part is also a good check on the success of previous teaching. Incidentally it is not the purpose of this kind of game to "produce" conscientious objectors, but to point out the complexity of the whole problem. One can only produce conscientious objectors by means of resolute training in procedure, which 1. runs contrary to the concept of conscience, 2. is impossible at school and 3. would mean taking the educational aim of the game, i.e. to encourage independence and imagination, to absurd lengths. (Rapporteur: Burkhardt Steinmetz, cf. footnote 6)

Another game involving role playing, the "International Simulation Game" was recommended by Galtung but not in detail. The game was said to differ considerably from the usual type of East-West simulation as it is a "cross-pressure-game" built up in such a way that no-one can ever do everything which he feels to be right; apparently, it is mainly used to describe and investigate North-South conflicts and is so designed that the pupils can alter it themselves.

It was also pointed out that none of these methods are actually new. Before, Moreno had developed his system of group psychotherapy 8) by means of which unresolved tensions can be subdued by individuals playing parts in "psychodramas" and at the same time observing the effects of this on others, increasing their ability to establish contacts and learning to see through each other's emotional relationships. It was said that the important thing about these methods is that their point of departure is not the individual but the relations between individuals (Gunther Neff).

Apparently basing her work on this method, Daublewsky (Weinheim) developed the so-called cooperation games 9) which the pupils of the Odenwaldschule represented at the conference referred to as games which force the participants to cooperate if they wish to attain a certain desirable goal. However, the pupils of the Odenwaldschule also drew attention to the danger of these concepts, namely that they might concentrate too much on individual or at best social efforts and attempts at therapy without ever aiming at the social causes behind their problems and overlooking the political dimension of these conflicts. In the case of the "International Simulation Games" the way in which individual psychological and the political levels are conveyed seems to involve problems, too. If the main effect of this method lies in recognizing how difficult it is to be a politician (Johan Galtung), then one might well ask whether this result is worth the effort involved. Greater "understanding" for politicians as such, that is regardless of their political goals and the interests they represent will not make schools political and will not reduce structural violence. 10)

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8) J.L. Moreno, Who shall survive? Foundations of sociometry, group psychotherapy and sociodrama, Beacon N.Y., Beacon House 1953.

9) B. Daublewky 'Spielen in der Schule', in: 'Neue Sammlung' (1971), 6 pp 533-552.

10) Unfortunately, Johan Galtung had hardly an opportunity to further illustrate his experiences with the game developed at the Ohio State University by Prof. Alger.

A general problem which emerges in connection with role playing at school (Model I), according to the experience of Burkhardt Steinmetz, is that one has to return to everyday school life afterwards. The games are a welcome change and also represent a stronger motivation for intellectual confrontation. However, this motivation is apparently not sufficient to produce continuous independent work and control of classroom work by the pupils.

There was general agreement, especially among the delegates from the Odenwaldschule, but also supported by Kirsten Schaefer of the Ernst-Reuter-Gesamtschule in Frankfurt, that it is not enough to grant older pupils democratic school institutions. Their previous school socialization has so corrupted their ability to perceive these possibilities and has as a rule perverted the necessary self-confidence so much that it is not difficult to "prove" the apparent unreality of such efforts (cf. example 10). This is the starting point of a method which aims at the encouragement of independence, criticism and creativity even in the first class of elementary school and in this way creates the ability to fulfill functions which progressive teachers would like to delegate to their older pupils:

Example 5: Practice for an education for peace: school structure as an expression of structural violence - teaching experiments and discussions with elementary school children

Even in the first school year at an average elementary school in a medium sized town (Reutlingen, Baden-Württemberg, approx. 30 6 to 7 year old children) the teacher kept making the organization and practice of classwork (i.e. the compulsions and dependences which led to a certain type of teaching) the subject of teaching itself. 11) In this process the children learnt among other things that the teacher himself is subject to certain constraints, that he has a certain relationship with the director, with the other staff and the school authorities, with the parents of his pupils and with his own education and training, that he is supposed to follow an educational plan, that this includes a syllabus and curricula, which perhaps do not correspond to the already developed interests of the pupils and also of the teacher and act as a barrier to their further development.
It emerged that even the "little ones" can already recognize the extent to which the existing school as a social field is involved in the reproduction of an "organized

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11) As a basis for such reflections the children's book 'Die Räuber von Kardemomme' by Th. Egner, Berlin 1959 is very qualified.

lack of peace" (Senghaas) 12). The children's own problems can be shown in connection with overlapping problems, for instance by demonstrating the connection between achievement pressure and the ideology of deterrence; also control of behaviour by means of threats and punishment; "do this because you know what will happen if you don't" can be shown to the children to be the product of and condition for a policy of threats and deterrence. First insights were given into the connection between the partial field they have direct experience of "school" and descriptions of overall social conditions, both of which are characterized by structural violence. As the teacher made his own teaching methods and indeed his own behaviour into a problem and a subject for discussion, allowed himself to be criticised and corrected himself, even after about four months the children showed signs of remarkable critical and analytical activity and constructive spontaneity; they even made surprising and useful suggestions for subjects and the lesson timetable (for instance they asked for so-called introductory classes to be left out altogether in future and wanted them replaced by a critical theoretical, i.e. more abstract approach before getting round to the subject itself, so that they could recognize the point of learning it in the first place); they uncovered and criticised certain tendencies in school text-books (for instance by means of a comparison of a childish, harmonized description of conveyor belt work using Wallraff reporting methods) they went on strike in certain lessons which treated them like "babies". One teacher's "child-oriented" music lesson had to be abandoned in favour of a critical study of Hindemith/Blecher "We build a new town" in coordination with German lessons,a project which was successful in spite of the considerable degree of musical difficulties involved. In so doing, the children soon grasped the following problem: the children in the play want to escape from the possibilities the adults grant them to be children. They build a new town where "children rule supreme". What in fact happens is that in this children's world the models of the adult world are not only reproduced but brutalised: the teacher hits the pupils and anyone outside the school who tries to eliminate taboos is put into prison. Teaching of this kind enables the children to see their teacher with critical eyes. Even very small children soon develop a remarkable ability to recognize when their teacher has fallen prey to stereotype thought patterns. This behaviour was still maintained by the children in the second form when they had a new teacher who was often confronted with

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12) Cf. e.g. D. Senghaas 'Abschreckung und Frieden - Studien zur Kritik organisierter Friedlosigkeit'. Frankfurt/Main 1972.

> relatively knowledgeable questions about the motivation and justification for his actions, and whose measures, much to his surprise, were often questioned. Through the cooperation of the old teacher and the new one, it was possible to avoid a confrontation which would probably have meant that the children would have come off second best and have been subjected to more or less severe reprisals. (Rapporteur: Ingeborg Hiller-Ketterer) 13)

If used in isolation, this method must, we feel, soon come up against limits.

1. If the teacher has no colleagues who are prepared to cooperate with him in continuing his method, the critical attitude of the children will lead to sanctions and frustrations which they are unable to understand. In order to make them somewhat resistant to this, the teacher would have to describe his own self-critical behaviour as atypical and be able to reherse resistance strategies.

2. The "theoretical" criticism of the selection of subjects, of the system of gratification and so on must in the long run lead to feelings of impotence and apolitical behaviour if it remains limited to the teaching of one teacher, that is if the teacher is not in a position to criticise the institutions which force him to use these behaviour patterns which have thus been made transparent in "practical" terms, and to provide the necessary experience of success.

3. Apart from this, we doubt whether this concrete material can claim to fulfill the promise of making "structural violence" visible to schoolchildren, particularly since "structural violence" can not only be derived from the fact that in planning his teaching the teacher is also bound by certain guidelines; we feel that structural violence is primarily derived from the concrete effects for the pupils themselves (the need to judge and select, to keep to the school rules and the like). 14)

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13) Ingeborg Hiller-Ketterer, Pädagogische Hochschule Eßlingen.
cf in detail: Hiller-Ketterer 'Kind, Gesellschaft, Evangelium", Stuttgart, München 1971; Hiller-Ketterer/Thierfelder 'Leistung und Gerechtigkeit', Stuttgart-München 1972; Hartwig/Hiller-Ketterer/Kreiner 'Schule als Konfliktfeld - Materialien für didaktische Ansätze', in: Ackermann et al. (ed.) 'Erziehung und Friede'. München 1971, pp. 88-99. G.G. Hiller 'Unterrichtliches Handeln als Gegenstand des Unterrichts' in Zeitschrift für Religionspädagogik, 26 (1971) pp. 3-19.

14) As a start cf. W. Jungk und K. Hagener 'Mitbestimmung in der Schule. Schule als Übungsfeld politischen Handelns, dargestellt an einer Fallstudie zum Thema Schulordnung', Frankfurt/Main 1972.

Another thing which does not quite emerge from the description of this method is how the transition is achieved from the insight into "structural violence" in the school to a recognition of the same forces in society as a whole. Is this not where the teacher again ressumes his old function as an "objective" authority, whose statements cannot be controlled by the pupils (it can be shown that ...)"? How can external violence and the integration of the school in this system be experienced by the pupils? In spite of these objections and questions, we still feel that this approach can be used as a prerequisite for later activity on the part of pupils and can hardly be overestimated as such. If these efforts were only to be applied to secondary level, one shortcoming would emerge which is characteristic of all examples mentioned under figure II: they are still "centred" on the teacher. The teacher himself reveals his concept, and if one were to prescribe it as a general method, it would presuppose a harmonious concept of teacher-pupil "partnership" as if both groups had the same power and were subject to the same constraints. 15)

III. There was agreement that the social problems which are relevant to peace education can no longer be covered by the traditional range of subjects, at least not at secondary level. For this, project-oriented teaching is necessary which in turn presupposes more readiness and ability to cooperate and thus assumes changes in teacher training and further training. The following example which had been put into practice at a special school for "backward children" was the only one of this kind mentioned.

Example 6:

Backward children inform themselves and others about backward children. - Preliminary report about a teaching project covering the subjects German, arithmetic, sociology, modelling, handcrafts and religion with backward children accompanied by a corresponding practical survey.

During a practical course with a 9th form at a Stuttgart special school for backward children, students of the Institute of Specialized Educational Science at the teachers' training college in Reutlingen, after a press conference of the school's director in which he had drawn attention to the wretched state of the school building, attempted to encourage the pupils of a leaving class to explore forms through which they could inform themselves and others about "being backward". This was intended to show that "backwardness" is mainly a problem produced

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15) Cf. 'pupils strategy' as a consequence of these reflections part III of this essay.

> by continued socially oriented and organised cultural prejudice. Under the leadership of the students, the pupils collected the requisite information and material; they produced diagrams and questionnaires for interviews and pamphlets. The editors and producers of the South German Broadcasting Company succeeded in producing an entertaining and informative broadcast with this class in conjunction with a broadcast for young people for which the pupils not only selected the music but also carried out the interviews, wrote the manuscripts and read them.
> After this experiment the students worked out further suggestions for similar projects and submitted suitable teaching material together with an analysis of the experiment. (Rapporteur: Ingeborg Hiller-Ketterer) 16)

The decisive feature of this experiment is not so much the doubtless vital cooperation between teachers of various subjects, but the fact that the subject taught directly corresponded to the objective interest of all the children involved, in that they had at least experienced "backwardness" as a form of social discrimination. On the other hand, the existing interest of some of the public in the chosen subject will also have played a role in its successful implementation.

Unfortunately, there was no discussion of the way in which similarly structured projects could be developed for other types of school, or about which pupils show a similarly strong interest in such projects and how this could be mobilized. In another context it was mentioned that abolishing exams is an essential prerequisite for democratic education (Magnus Haavelsrud); that our schools are state run sorting boxes, and that teachers do not fulfill the task of educationalists but of public prosecutors (Johan Galtung). From the applause which greeted these statements it can be assumed that there was agreement on these points. Presumable the subjects thus referred to also fall directly within the pupils' primary field of interest. Thus, project-orientated teaching projects can be imagined for very different types of schools with the following subjects: a study of the individual psychological consequences and the social functions of awarding marks, of staying down, of examination, of the daily atomisation of interests (extrinsic motivation for learning, loss of self-confidence in one's own intellect as a result, destruction of independent, self-determined thinking and of memory, familiarization with differences in class and rank, practice of adjusted, acquiscient behaviour, the development of achievement standards which correspond to ruling interests and so on). Projects of this kind would hardly be likely

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16) Cf. in detail: Klepzig/Wörnle: thesis for the 1. diploma in teaching. Pädagogische Hochschule Reutlingen, spring 1973.

to attract public support; the pupils and schools involved would run the risk that the pupils would see through the internationalization of the coercive system and would refuse to adapt to it any more. Thus the teachers would maneouver themselves into a rather difficult position. It can hardly be assumed that this kind of teaching would become very widespread in our schools. It is not even probable that projects of this type would be initiated or put into practice at all in the framework of "normal" teaching.

The example shows that the teacher's possibilities to introduce measures which actually change structures are fairly small. The necessary but obviously small-scale attempts of individual teachers must be met by a pupil's strategy "in the framework of which the pupils see and organize themselves as a "counter agency" (Joachim Hofmann). Teachers and pupils are not in the same position. Even though the teachers had relatively strong power over their pupils the latter are more independent in a certain way. The teacher is on the lowest level of school "bureaucracy". With his many superiors, rules and regulations, he is the executive organ for others. He is tied to an authoritarian liason of violence. Whereas there is a threat to the teachers' very existence in the form of the decision of the Conference of Prime Ministers now in force ("Principles on anti-constitutional forces in public service" dated 28.1.1972) if they are politically organized in a certain way; kick-outs of pupils for similar reasons are not provided for by the law even though they might sporadicly occur in practice.17) The teacher has a double social role to play. in his classroom he is supposed to create an atmosphere of trust, although his vocation commits him to exercise a supervisory function; he is supposed to teach his pupils to be critical, yet he himself is subject to absolute obedience and is strictly bound by the regulations for civil servants. 18)

The fact that changes in school must correspond to the interests of the pupils means that it is primarily they who must implement these changes. Change which fulfills its purpose is change which is conquered by the "subject" involved and not decreed from above. Perhaps the "conflict

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17) W. Abendroth et al. 'Wortlaut und Kritik der verfassungswidrigen Januarbeschlüsse', Köln 1972.

18) Cf. the booklet 'Projekt Curriculum' of the governing body of the students' representatives in the Land Hessen, Marburg 1972, to be obtained through the former chairman of the curriculum committee of the students' representative in the Land Hessen: Joachim Hofmann, 3551 Simtshausen, Niederaspherstr. 2.

strategy" recommended by Galtung could be part of this strategy for pupils: by means of strikes or other forms of protest they could try to fight for certain teaching units. For instance they could insist on being informed at school about the extent and social-economic functions of armaments and hear experts on the subject for a week. The confrontation with the school authorities and the direct experience of the common interest of the school system and industry which might also occur 19) would be an essential part of the learning process.

Even so, after these contributions to the discussion, there was agreement that an undifferentiated confrontation between teachers and pupils is not desirable; individual teachers can certainly give their help, especially to the younger children; they can become "partners of the pupils' groups", which first perhaps only comprise some of the children. Often it will have to be the teacher who encourages them to discover and protect their interests. By trying to control them too much, by not being tempted to revert to authoritarian measures due to failure, allowing them to hold pupils' meetings, by pointing out clashes of interests, by informing them about structures and events, giving advice, by directly or indirectly supporting action as far as he is able, he can play an important (but not the most important role) in the process of transformation. Alliances of this kind will only emerge on an ad hoc basis, however; the situation described (hierarchies, laws on civil servants etc.) hardly makes for a continuous identity of interest even between pupils and progressive teachers.

Now there are sufficient examples, and some were mentioned from other European countries during the discussion, which go to show that young teachers in particular can hardly play the role of a partner to a group of children in the process of getting organized. Even in the case of relatively slight deviations from the standards of the school, they become the object of all kinds of measures to discriminate, isolate and even repress them, both on the part of the head, the school authorities and even their own fellow teachers; - this can even lead to their dismissal or removal to another school. It is only the progressive group of teachers, not the individual teacher, who can withstand this pressure and in the long run act as a relatively reliable "partner" of the pupils. Just as in the case of the groups of pupils, the small groups of progressive teachers must also organize themselves in regional and supraregional associations and political trade unions; however, these organizations must be much more than just professional associations. They do not only serve the purpose of preventing isolation in school and among the staff but also give direct legal advice. Only if the teacher sees his work as

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19) Cf. among others F. Nyssen 'Schule im Kapitalismus', Köln 1970.

part of an overall social strategy for change and sees himself as part of a broader counter strategy which also includes the pupils and is also committed outside his school work any real changes together with the pupils can be brought about. 2o)

IV. As these comments have shown, the borderline between the models and changes in the whole structure of schools in relation to society is flexible. Within certain limits, the following experiment could also be repeated as part of a strategy for pupils in one teacher's classes or in cooperation with other teachers; however, it is clear that it demands considerable agreement on the part of the school's headmasters or even presupposed a "special conference" in which the pupils already have a certain influence:

Example 7: Students' course at the Odenwaldschule

Some students at the Odenwaldschule still needed another credit for the current school year. The sixth form course system in the "Odenwaldschule" obliges the students to take part in a certain number of courses lasting three months each. The free selection of courses is limited in that the choice of a certain main subject automatically makes it compulsory to take certain other "complementary" subjects. 21) However, in the case under discussion, the teacher, Gerold Becker, did not have time to arrange the requisite course. As a result the students worked out a concept for a course on cultural anthropology, to be held by themselves, and the special conference, at which they were also represented, accepted it. The course was based on a text by Margaret Mead. One of the pupils had already done some work in this field in the past and gave an introductory paper. The teacher for this subject made recommendations on other literature. The course was prepared by a group of four pupils, with a total of 12 participants. For each session a new discussion leader and a new rapporteur were elected. In the course of the three months, even those students became active who had not participated much in the previous courses run by teachers.
The final examination and the marks at the end of the course which are still compulsory at the Odenwaldschule were dealt with in the following way: the groups suggested a mark for each student. At the end of the course, the teacher set three essay subjects, one of which could be selected and written on in a four hour class exer-

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2O) Cf. part V of this contribution.

21) Cf. W. Edelstein 'Eine Schulverfassung für den Wandel'. In Schäfer/Edelstein/Becker: 'Probleme der Schule im gesellschaftlichen Wandel. Das Beispiel Odenwaldschule'. Frankfurt/Main 1971 p. 22.

> cise. The final marks were composed of the mark given by the group and that given by the teacher for the essay. The usual individual reports ("course reports") were drawn up by three students, discussed in the group and given their final form. The special conference accepted them. (Rapporteur: Astrid Ursula Windfuhr) 22)

It is remarkable that the students still felt a motivation, indeed were even better motivated in spite of the pressure from marks. In attempting to assess achievement themselves, as was done here, if it is not possible to do without graduated marks, it is advisable to discuss the whole problem of the assessment of achievement in class. 23) "This kind of self-assessment basically hides the danger of the uncritical integration of the student in a selective and undemocratic achievement system"; but "students who have to award marks themselves are more likely to know about the vagueness of the basic criteria used and the low predictive value of such marks". 24)

In view of overflowing classrooms and the shortage of teachers, it would seem an obvious idea to introduce this sort of teaching in existing schools as a sort of emergency solution. However,this would probably fail because it would degrade classes run and organized by the pupils to the level of a technical makeshift expedient. The example of the Italian "student's school" (which was not discussed in our group), shows that certain concrete preconditions must be fulfilled. The report on this "Scuola di Barbiana" 25), which was drawn up by the students themselves on a level which we expect from an average university student here, begins by saying that their school had 29 teachers and 30 pupils. The only adult teacher, a progressive clergyman, himself only taught the eldest children, who in turn taught the younger ones and so on. This self limitation on the part of the clergyman did not in fact mean that he had no influence: the school could not have continued to exist without him. "Student-run courses" and "schools run by the pu-

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22) Astrid Ursula Windfuhr, 6149 Ober-Hambach, Odenwaldschule.

23) Cf. K. Ingenkamp (ed.) 'Die Fragwürdigkeit der Zensurengebung'. Weinheim 1972. Cf. also F. Huisken 'Zur Kritik der bürgerlichen Didaktik und Bildungsökonomie'. München 1972.

24) Governing body of the students' representatives in the Land Hessen (ed.) 'Projekt Curriculum'. Loc. cit. p. 8.

25) Scuola di Barbiana. 'Die Schülerschule. Brief an eine Lehrerin'. Berlin 1970.

pils" therefore do presuppose very committed and extremely good teachers for a start. Another precondition seems to us to be even more important and is one which was not fulfilled at the Odenwaldschule, which is perhaps why, as the pupils themselves felt, this sort of course is hardly likely to become the rule there. The "Scuola die Barbiana" perhaps only worked so well as a school run by the pupils themselves because it was a school for the underprivileged run by children who could not have held their own even in a normal Italian elementary school and by the children of smallholders and unskilled workers from the mountains. These children developed a considerable motivation for learning: it is quite remarkable how much they learnt (various languages, mathematics, statistics ...). This motivation was reinforced every day by the clear distinction made between these children and the privileged, by their hatred for the school system and society in which they and their like were so obviously at a disadvantage, and through conscious solidarity with the oppressed throughout the world. One reason why this example has not yet been copied in Federal Germany is that here there are pressure groups which prevent this kind of solidarity and the emancipation of the underprivileged from the control of the privileged.

Under certain conditions, the principle of teaching by the pupils can also work in combination with lessons from teachers even in schools whose pupils are mainly recruited from the "middle" or dominant social classes.

Example 8: The experimental grammar school in Oslo/Norway

This school is organized for 16 to 18 year olds along the lines of a university. It is mainly run by the children themselves. However, this does not apply to the funds which are supplied by the City of Oslo. There are no school "authorities" who have to be obeyed. The pupils spend quite a lot of time organizing school meetings and discussions etc. There is traditional teaching in the usual subjects but with new subject matters. The teachers have volunteered to teach at this school, but are paid the usual salary. Not unlike Summerhill, the students have the right to teach themselves without any supervision. In so doing, they try to utilize the ressources of society for the benefit of the school. Thus, the school is not simply closed to the outside world. For instance, the students often invite experts from various fields to hear their reports and to discuss things with them. In this way, peace research and peace education are informally incorporated in the life of the school. The role of the experts and the teachers is by no means that of unchallenged authority - they also have to act as "scapegoats". But this is the vital prerequisite for the success of this kind of work. The result is that as a rule the students are less good at

> mathematics than their fellows at other schools; but they have developed a critical awareness for the analysis of their society and world society which is far more sophisticated than that of most fifteen year olds. (Rapporteur: Johan Galtung) 26)

Following an idea of Illich, Johan Galtung suggested that a kind of cafeteria should be set up in schools with a library attached to it, so that the material for discussions and work in small groups is easily available. According to this idea, teaching would soon mostly take place in the cafeteria, to which parents and teachers should have equal access. According to the experience of most student groups, the demand for "equality" with teachers and parents, especially in school conferences, is rather dubious. Thanks to their structurally guaranteed superiority, teachers and parents usually succeed fairly easily in manipulating the interests, wishes and goals of the children so skilfully, that the majority of them only notice later that action has been taken against their interests and intentions. Again, the idea that there should be "a book" on the table "instead of a menu" and that groups would form informally, according to Johan Galtung, seems rather unspontaneous and direct. However, this sort of "learning cafeteria" could be useful if it were designed properly for work in small groups. The inclusion of scientists and practitioners in teaching could then doubtlessly be intensified in traditional schools. However, Galtung's description does not indicate to what extent the opening up of the school to the outside world includes a direct effect on the socio-political conditions in the school's environment, along the lines of example 6. At all events, the hearing of experts itself is not enough. The assumption that in the long term it will be possible to eliminate the social forces that are materially interested in the maintenance of the present school system by introducing new subject matter and new forms to the school, by using "science" as a Trojan horse to this end, is hardly realistic. (Galtung)

The following example, which seems to be more complex, runs along similar lines:

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26) Johan Galtung, Professoratet I Konflikt-OG Fredsforkning, Chair In Conflikt And Peace Research, Blindern, P.O. Box 1070, Oslo 3, Norway.

Cf. also Mosse Jørgensen 'Schuldemokratie - keine Utopie, das Versuchsgymnasium Oslo', Reinbek 1973.

Example 9: The comprehensive school as an opportunity for the political education of teachers and pupils

> The main principle of the experimental school in Bielefeld is to "force" the teachers to become "political" minded by letting them design their own school and bear total responsibility for it. This creates the preconditions for a political education (= an education towards the "flexible settlement of common problems") and thus also for peace and social justice. The school is designed in such a way that the teachers cannot avoid working actively with the parents in doing political work on the different levels of the state educational authorities. At the same time, they are also directly involved in the evaluation of their teaching experiments through the university and in the further development of educational theory. The curricula which they either draw up themselves or are made available to them by the various faculties of the university serve the same purpose. They are not designed as timetables, worked out right down to the last detail, but constantly confront both teachers and pupils with new decisions. Thus they ressemble a maze, a journey into the unknown, which leads to "political education", because politics demand the ability to make decisions which change reality, taking into consideration power and dominance.
> (Rapporteur: Hartmut v. Hentig) 27)

The brevity of this description hardly makes it possible to assess the Bielefeld experiment. Perhaps this concept works when coupled with university research in this way. However, the question must be asked as to whether it can be considered as a generally applicable model of the close cooperation with university is an essential feature of this model, since then it only would be possible in university towns. In addition, the report on it gives the impression that the "maze" curricula simply aim at forcing a choice between different possibilities and projects. If this interpretation is correct, one could criticize the model by saying that this sort of choice is not political and does not necessarily result in the ability to make political decisions.

After the presentation of this example, there was a longish discussion about the political value of model schools. Some participants tended to hold the view that model schools simply acted as an alibi and were a classic example of "repressive tolerance". Freedoms granted to the teachers and pupils at these schools are so uncharacteristic that the results could not be adopted for the "normal" school system

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27) Hartmut von Hentig, Fakultät für Pädagogik, Philosophie und Psychologie, Universität Bielefeld. 48 Bielefeld, Roonstr. 25.

(Nicolaas Rodenburg). The answer to this was that the reforms which have been carried out in normal schools in recent years were also a result of the experience with experimental schools. In Galtung's view, the "alibi theory" and the "inspiration theory" of the role of model schools can both be valid depending on the context. The following example illustrates the "alibi theory" but also proves that the burocratic aims it describes can in some cases be foiled:

Example 10: Changing of rigid plans by the administration by means of solidarity on the part of teachers with the help of "scientific assistants"

In one of the "Länder" (Federal States) a progressive school experiment (comprehensive school) was developed in years of planning work. The 1970 plan suggested that after six months introductory work, differentiated classes should be introduced in the fifth form in German, English and mathematics, all main subjects. As this plan was put into effect, it emerged that there were no sufficiently valid criteria on which to base the differentiation of class standards at the planned moment. The opponents of the comprehensive school used this as an argument to claim prematurely that the experiment had failed. This group, which included the Philologenverband (Association of Philologists) and some representatives of the administration, talked of the model as a warning example and pointed to the supposed drop in achievement levels. The teachers were accused of trying to undermine the plan for subjective reasons.

By means of a long discussion and with the help of the scientific assistants it was finally possible to change the concept and improve it, although the minister himself had to suggest this. A real transitional class, lasting two years, was introduced, with a division of the class according to two different levels of achievement only being introduced at the end of the 6th form.

This example shows that after clashes between representatives of the administration and the teachers at the grass roots level, it is possible to alter restrictive conditions which were initially taken to be unalterable and to find a constructive solution. The example also shows how necessary it is to have a constant scientific check and control over school experiments while they take place and to give support and assistance to the teachers in their new work. (For obvious reasons it is not possible tomention either the rapporteur or the site of the experiment.) 28)

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28) Cf. also: P. Büchner 'Schulreform durch Bürgerinitiative. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen von Gesamtschulen'. München 1972.

The activity of the scientific assistants described here is certainly something positive. However, it is doubtful whether the experiment would also have been successful without additional political pressure, if its aims and other similar experiments show how important it is to include parents and perhaps even mobilize them when extensive changes in the structure of teaching and school are involved. The tendency of parents to resist reforms should not be underestimated (Hartmut v. Hentig). Strategies which overlook parents are often condemned to failure for that very reason.

However, there were only very few concrete proposals on this subject. The headmistress of a UNESCO school, Helena Piasecka , reported from Poland that in large cities,regular courses are held at adult colleges for the parents of school age children. These courses should be designed so that they pass the latest results of educational research on to the parents and to approach them whenever they have recognizable needs and problems resulting from the present school system. A more ambitious proposal was to prepare and carry out courses together with parents and children, so that the children are again involved in objective communication with their parents (Ingeborg Hiller-Ketterer).

V. Strategies which are based from the start on international cooperation and experience are relatively rare in Europe's traditional school systems which are largely rooted in the nation state thinking of the 19th century and are indeed based on the very same nation state. Until now, the UNESCO schools' programme for "International Understanding" has not been a significant success, presumably because of its idealistic basis. Isolated initiatives launched by some of these schools are a first step in spite of this. Thus, it was reported that after a programme for children which was broadcasted in the Federal Republic, called "Germans ask Poles", more than 200 letters from West Germany were sent to one of the Polish schools participating in the programme. This led to a lively correspondence between German and Polish schoolchildren and then to group visits on an exchange basis.

The following contribution reports on a German attempt to break through the national narrow mindedness of our schools, at least in part:

Example 11: Self-education for peaceful behaviour through peace corps service

In the "Studienkolleg Laubach", a school with room for boarders in a small town run by the "Evangelischen Kirche in Hessen und Nassau" (Protestant Church in Hesse and Nassau) the idea emerged to reinforce the teaching of history and sociology through intensive work outside school. A "Working Party for Peace Work" was set up which, although it is still mainly supported by the pupils and teachers of this school is now registered as an independent association in order to be less reliant on the school and the organization running it and to have a better platform for practising partnership between younger and older groups. Students (former pupils) also take part. Since 1969 peace corps work has been organized in Auschwitz, Stutthof (near Danzig), Palermo and Israel, taking the form of six three week visits with between 14 and 29 participants. For 1973 visits are planned in such a way that 11 holidays and 10 school days are covered (the time used for the class excursions in the past). Travel and expenses are paid for from subsidies from the Protestant Church, the State (the Federal Youth Plan) and the district where the school is. This work for peace is understood by the group to be physical work for and with people who have been or are plagued by violence, war or exploitation. The aim of the participants is to "develop a great ability to live peacefully" through the "experience of a partnership" where there is a certain amount of stress involved, that is through the group process and the experiencing of different ways of life and work; this new ability should then become effective in political and social actions in school and its environment and also in taking up a political stand in public. Thus, since this initiative was taken, part of the group has started to help the children of migrant workers. These activities are very well prepared in courses on history, in which the significance of faschism is given particular attention, and in classes on contemporary problems in the countries to be visited. In work done after peace corps service, dealing with concrete tasks has proved to be most effective, such as the organizing of exhibitions (Auschwitz), giving talks in other schools and for other groups, organizing youth meetings (for instance at the "Evangelischen Akademie in Arnoldshain), preparing for and taking part in the conference on "Peace with Poland" in Frankfurt in 1971. It is hard to assess the effect of group work on the school, but it usually constitutes a positive factor in the "atmosphere" which also has quantitative repercussions (30-50% of the 'Abitur' class took part in the peace service project in recent years). The teachers involved (9 out of 30) have made the subject of peace education compulsory in civics and social subjects (course system) and work together in a group on peace education. This work has produced a clear polarization both among teachers and pupils. Through an allied peace service organization the groups recruit members with a very strong motivation for social work abroad (work in the negro slums in the U.S.A. and in a home for the deaf in Norway). For conscientious objectors, this social peace service abroad takes the place of a substitute for military service. (Rapporteur: Rüdiger Mack) 29)

Like many others, this contribution was taken note of but not discussed, although it is a starting point for integrating concrete social and international experience in present school structure as a complement to "theoretical" knowledge and also represents a possibility to exert a political influence on one's environment from within school. The rapporteur should have been asked what signs indicate that working experience of this kind in the long run produces a kind of internationally orientated awareness and that it leads to practical solidarity with the expolited and underprivileged groups, including those in one's own country. It should have been asked what is meant by "the ability to live peacefully" in relation to a society in which the "peacefulness" of the greater part of the population is constantly being postulated by the minority, who in fact benefit from this very peacefulness. The groups should have asked what models for action and what social targets the pupils develop if their process of political learning started in this way and what "polarisation" means in the context of the school. Another thing which is important to know is whether this also includes the attitude one has to one's own institution, whether the conflicts are only seen as the result of circumstances and situation which do not concern us, or whether we become aware of them in our own sphere of life and how they are dealt with.

The following model (Example 12) is basically the most complicated. Potentially it covers all five "fields" covered by the previous examples, and can therefore be used in the individual teacher's classes but can be put to better use in classes covering several subjects, and if it were applied consistently it would lead to extensive changes in structure of the whole school. In practical terms these changes can start in any age group and thus refuse the argument that democratic education is not possible with 7 or 8 year olds (Johan Galtung). This example is based on recent knowledge acquired in the field of neurophysiology, which can now be considered to be proven and states that one mainly perceives and memorizes those things for which a prestructured interest is already present. The neurophysiologist and educationalist, David Wolsk, has drawn a simple conclusion from this: it is wrong to try "to arouse" the children's "interest" by presenting the pupils with objects/learning material/targets from outside, that is to say as coming from the teacher or the school in the form of compulsory text-books and methods. Methods have to be found which make use of interests and experiences which are already present when the child enters school, that is

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29) Rüdiger Mack, 6312 Laubach I, Richard-Wagner-Str. 22.

they must be made visible and conscious so that the child automatically goes on to acquire further knowledge. The following text of Wolsk's only refers to an international project which is now underway which first used this method on twelve year olds; however, it has already been tried out successfully with younger children and with other subjects.

Example 12: Controversial, conscious behavior as the starting point for intrinsic learning based on emotional and social processes and transnational school communication as a didactic instrument (model III)

In January 1972 a nine day workshop was held in Hamburg with the support of the UNESCO secretariat and the UNESCO Institute for Education in Hamburg; the participants were teachers from eight countries (Federal Republic , Czechoslovakia, Denmark, England, Austria, Hungary, the U.S.A. and Cyprus). The aim of the "workshop" was to suggest innovations for the teaching of sociology and the organization of an experimental programme. About 40 curriculum units were collected for children aged 12 - 18. Some were developed by authors who were not present at the "workshop" and were specially made for it, whereas others were worked out by the teachers on the spot. They have in common that they are based on the actual experience and activities of the pupils as generated in the classroom. They serve as the starting point for the independent investigation of various topics connected with man's behaviour as an individual and as a social being. The curriculum units (discussed here) are used in the normal framework of social studies, history, literature and human biology. The teacher starts from a certain concept of human behaviour or from a well known human situation. Teaching starts by involving the children in an activity which is directly or indirectly related to the situation. This might be a simplified experiment on distortions of perception, simulation, a role-playing situation or for instance an investigation of how a rumour spreads at school. This activity lasts 10 to 20 minutes; the rest of the lesson is used for discussion.

The curriculum covers a broad span of "critical incidents" of this kind and also projects which are called experience-situations for lack of a better term. They are arranged in sequences in order to develop certain topics, but they can also be used separately.

These experience situations produce a typically high level of interest and personal committment. This is a key factor. It is important for the children to see themselves as the source and centre of the curriculum. Their experience, their reactions, their feelings, their decisions are the basis of the following discussion, but they are only the basis. It is just as important for the discussions to go beyond special, direct experience. As this happens, the children begin to learn how to take a step backwards on their own, how to generalize and see possible connections with other situations and experiences. They try to formulate general rules about human behaviour.

As the whole process starts by analysing one's own behaviour in taking a decision, each pupil begins to test his own assumptions about human behaviour and about himself. This process of analysis and synthesis is completed in further discussions and/or continued in writing. It is possible for each child to establish what other information, knowledge and interpersonal abilities would be useful. At this point, teachers, parents, people working in public libraries and others in the community can be of help.

As a result of this initial experience situation, the pupil has his own personal frame of reference which he can use on the information from these external sources. To use Piaget's terminology, both assimilation and accomodation can take place. This can considerably improve his understanding and the storage of new information.

It is just as important that the teacher, by relating information to decision-making processes, should aim at something which is usually largely lacking in present day teaching, i.e. the question of how to use acquired knowledge. Developing experience situations and "critical incidents" which lead to participation and activity, which in turn require the pupils to make decisions, provide a better opportunity to create an "on the job" context for learning in the classroom. The children experience the process which leads to decisions and in which information is needed to make decisions or to analyse them. They learn through experiencing themselves, which is particularly important whenever they learn about subjects pertaining to the social or emotional sphere.

The curriculum also includes a number of units which do not begin with a classroom experience situation, such as for example the "Ideal community", "The year 2000", "Export - import", "Action projects", "Community problems". Even so, these units are based on much the same method. The contacts which the pupils establish with people and institutions in their community concentrate on the relationship between information and decisions. It is important for the children to see that the assumptions people make about human behaviour and social processes form the background for their description of the problems and for the decisions with which they are trying to solve them.

Through the "Action projects" the children themselves become active and take decisions. By working together with representatives of the authorities and people at their jobs, they can compare the way they take decisions with their own.

Other projects emerge spontaneously from the experience situations and discussions. For instance, after the experiment "levels of aspiration", some children were interested to know how their fellows decide what they want to do when they grow up. They developed a questionnaire which was to be filled up once a year during the three years at secondary school.

The international project for which the units were collected includes a system according to which results can be exchanged between classes in various countries. In this way, the children are able to compare their behaviour with that of others, to observe similarities and differences (using the same "experience situation" to start with) and to try to explain them.

In the course of this exchange of experience, the children study their own preconcieved ideas and those others have about them. For instance, in Denmark a class is given a recording of a German class discussing the question "What is a German?" However, before listening to the tape, they themselves make a recording, first giving their own views about what characterizes a German, secondly saying what the German children could have said on the subject and thirdly giving their views on what is characteristic of a Dane. Then they listen to the tape from Germany and comment on the merits and faults of their assumptions about what the German class would say.

This is an example of what can develop from an exchange programme. Each unit offers its own special possibilities. Taken together, they present a much broader spectrum of common, general experience situations. The pupils try to imagine themselves undergoing the experience which actually happened in another country (developing sensitivity for others); then they can find out how well they were able to see and feel this experience from the point of view of another person, that is, to understand the other person. This process is encouraged by starting it again from another angle: a second group of pupils tries to understand what it was like for the first group.

> The project, which is now in force in the eight countries present at the workshop is now being analysed by the UNESCO Institute for Education in Hamburg. A follow-up workshop will be held in 1973.
> (Rapporteur in the discussion: Reiner Steinweg) 30)

This text has been reproduced in full because until now there have been no publications on this approach which was referred to although it has been tried out for some years now in the U.S.A. and Denmark. Of course, there were many questions which people would have liked to have asked the authors, such as those mentioned above after the description of other examples. Apart from this, the description leaves other, perhaps vital questions open: 1. What games are primarily involved? Is the "curriculum" a motley of different approaches, such as have already been partly described in this report, or does it contain new, original forms which are especially suitable for the purposes described? From talks with Wolsk we have gained the impression that the latter is the case. Perhaps he refrained from being more concrete, because in the final analysis this is not possible in a description but in practical trials. But it is only if one is more familiar with the special structure of these games that one is in a position to judge whether the level on which the children take "decisions" is sufficiently related to the political level, in the widest sense. This can only be assumed a priori in the case of the action projects, although of course it is important to know what sort of "action" and what general political context the author has in mind. We have the impression that he would support and admit any kind of political action as long as it was designed and carried out by the children themselves. However, practical experience would show how far he can go in view of the existing social clash of interests.
2. Wolsk's basic concept of "interest" also needs further explanation, but it is clear that he is not thinking of a new version of the old teaching postulate of developing objective interests from "natural" problem situations. The aim here is not primarily specialized knowledge, as in the famous example of the milk tin in connection with the physical properties of air, but the level on which one is constantly directly involved in one's daily dealing with other people, that is the level of behaviour. 3. Wolsk does say a good deal about what the pupils "can" do and learn to perceive in the framework he sets, but he does not say what behaviour occured in previous experiments and under what concrete social and organizational school conditions

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30) Reiner Steinweg, 6268 Bad Vilbel, Windeckerstr. 16; The above cited text was written by David Wolsk, especially for this report. Danmarks Paedagogiske Institut, Hermodsgade 28, 2200 Kobenhavn N.

it occured. Once again, we can only refer back to oral statements which indicate that the behaviour which is described here as a possibility has actually occurred, not in model schools but in ordinary kinds of schools. It is to be hoped that the teachers who took part in the UNESCO experiment will give a detailed description of their results and the necessary preconditions. 4. Another point which is not clear is how the children are supposed to progress beyond their direct experience by evaluating the "critical incidents". What role does the teacher play in this? Probably the teacher has to have very special educational skills to avoid falling back into the old role of simply passing on knowledge. How do the children acquire the "skills" they need in order to follow up the new, conscious interest they have in a certain problem if the teacher in fact limits himself to being the children's "assistant", their "counsellor" when they need him, as David Wolsk says? 5. How is it possible to prevent this approach being to the advantage of the socially privileged and to the disadvantage of the underprivileged? This question is especially relevant when referring to the possibilities of the parents to satisfy the growing need for information on the part of their children. 6. Finally, the assumptions about the causes of human behaviour which the project seems to be based on also seem rather dubious. After all, in the final analysis it is not "assumptions about human behaviour" which condition important social and political decisions, although they doubtless also play a role. The question is whether there is any point in starting with human behaviour as such, with "general rules" about behaviour and with the concept of "man" per se or to suggest these ideological ideas to schoolchildren. It is clearly demonstrated that these ideas are ideological whenever work is done towards international understanding at school level: Wolsk obviously starts from an early assumption made by peace research which has since been proved wrong, namely that attitudes, prejudices and preconcieved ideas and so on have a decisive effect on international relations. However, it is not primarily attitudes which determine political decisions but the material interest of the ruling classes in different countries.

Thus it emerges that through their selection of games and problems the teachers still have considerable opportunities to manipulate their pupils, even according to this model; this is still bound to happen even if the teacher makes every effort to keep his behaviour free from attempts to control them, as Wolsk himself does. Therefore it would be a mistake to assume that this method automatically leads to more democratic structures, especially since it is hardly capable of being applied consistently and with all its logical ramifications in a bourgeois, democratic society. However, this is a difficulty which this method shares with all other "utopian" approaches, such as for instance Bertolt Brecht's theory of education, which incidentally shares some interesting points with Wolks's theory. 31) This method, if rigorously applied, would mean doing without a "general education" completed at 18 without achievement comparisons, marks, moving up or down a class and examinations. If this new approach based on "interests" were consistently applied according to the latest knowledge in neurophysiology and the social sciences - and Wolks's experiments do seem to represent quite a considerable step in this direction, in spite of the doubts and questions raised above - it would probably give rise to serious social resistance, if schoolchildren seriously and determinedly tried to uncover the origins of the observed differences in behaviour on the interpersonal, the local and international level.

However, this is exactly what should be aimed at. If it is true that different social classes produce different behaviour patterns (and after all there are now quite a number of indications that this is so, based on admittedly problematic empirical studies) then this particular curriculum should lead the children to discover class distinctions behind differences in behaviour. It should not be necessary for the teacher to point this out. He would simply have to take up observations of this fact and make suggestions on how to pursue this further. Since this approach necessarily includes the environment of the school, even if no work was done with the requisite projects as suggested by Wolsk, the teacher would sooner or later have to take sides in the clash between classes and interests which begins to emerge. In contrast to the "small time" French schoolmaster often mentioned by Marx, teachers in recent decades have as a rule taken the side of the privileged, even if they did so unconsciously. If they were obliged to practise this new approach based on interests they would be forced to side with the exploited classes in order not to loose contact with most of their pupils. This could incidentally certainly be done without turning the tables and neglecting and oppressing children from the "better" classes; as most "radical" schoolchildren and students have a middle or upper middle class background it should still be possible to gradually persuade them to show solidarity with the lower classes. Even the partial application of this new approach would in the long run force individual teachers to organize themselves as described under III above, once the application of this method went beyond the experimental stage and became a mass phenomenon in schools.

It is quite feasible that this approach coupled with consistent work with the parents could also enable partly or entirely proletarian groups of parents to undergo changes in consciousness and learning processes due to the activities of their children, which would also contribute to solidarity. Then the demand for overall political activity on the part of teachers would not just be a demand, but teaching activity and political activity would then be identical.

The political and trade union organization of teachers would no longer run the risk of turning into a simple professional organization. This of course does not mean to say that an overall social strategy could only start from schools. However, in our view schools could contribute to a much greater extent than in the past to the consolidation of emancipatory movements.

In the view of other delegates at the conference, international activities in peace education outside schools should be organized both through established institutions, such as UNESCO, the World Federation of United Nations Associations, trades unions, boy scouts and other youth organizations and through new institutions specially designed for peace research. It was hoped that the latter would prefer broad scope for action by developing new projects and programmes and by influencing existing organizations. However, only the already customary summer schools were discussed in concrete terms . The delegates spoke out in favour of a pluralistic concept and want participants to be recruited "from different social classes with differing educational backgrounds or from social fringe groups."

The setting up of an "International Secretariat for Peace Education" was also suggested which would be supported by a "Committee for Peace Education" in I.P.R.A. (International Peace Research Association) and would have the following tasks: 1. collecting and passing on of information on projects and experience in various countries - here the idea was to set up a kind of "data bank" to this end; 2. the coordination of these projects. 32) The I.P.R.A. magazine should also be used to make information about projects and liason groups more readily accessible. For the moment, the magazine would also replace the "data bank" for peace education projects. 33)

VI. On the structure of future discussions on peace education strategies

The largest working party was faced with the dilemma of wanting to discuss strategies of implementation for goals which

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32) Christoph Wulf has been elected secretary of the Education Committee of the International Peace Research Association for the years 1972-74. Address: 6000 Frankfurt/Main, Schloßstr. 29.

33) Cf. International Peace Research Newsletter, ed. by International Peace Research Association, Secretariat, International Peace Research Institute, P.O. Box 5052, Oslo 3, Norway; cf. especially vol. II No. 1 and 2. 1973. Special issue on Peace Education ed. by Christoph Wulf.

had only been described in very general terms or in such specific terms that there could be no agreement on them in the working party; neither could this agreement be reached in a short discussion on "goals". The formulation of the subject "An Education for Peace and Social Justice" was found to hide a number of goals, some of which were contradictory, some of which could be reconciled with each other; at all events these aims were fairly divergent. They ranged from an education for class consciousness and active participation in class struggle (Benedetto Sajewa) to an education for a general, undetermined "ability to behave peacefully" (example 11). Some delegates equated peace education with "good",i.e. democratic (Nikolaas Rodenburg) or "political" education as such (Hartmut v. Hentig); others interpreted it to mean the conveying of specific results of peace research (this group included John Shipee) and agreed that "peace education" should not be degraded to being just one more subject among others, because this would surely mean that it would be ineffective - just imagine having to award marks in "peace education" as a compulsory subject! It was said that peace education should be the determining principle behind all teaching.

The suggestion to "pretend" that the goals had been fixed and to concentrate on the resistance,which any school reform of any kind is bound to meet with whatever its intentions (Hartmut v. Hentig), could not prevent the contributions to the discussion from being just as divergent as the goals. In one sub group it was agreed later on that it was not possible to separate means and ends, but,even so,the group could not find a basis for working out concrete and exactly calculated strategies needed for all levels.

In these circumstances it was not possible to fulfill the claim to develop a strategy on how to introduce peace education as a teaching principle in society and in schools in concrete terms. The very formulation of the subject of the congress "An Education for Peace and Social Justice" is just about as plausible as the demand for "An Education for Freedom From Famine". However, most of the participants seemed to agree that peace education should not be misunderstood to be an education for any sort of "peacefulness", but that it should discuss the social origins of "the organized lack of peace" and "structural violence" as constituents of dominance in schools and should then go on to develop action models to change the system. "An Education for Peace and Social Justice" interpreted in this way would be part of a clearly socialist implementation strategy in the school and the society around it. Along these lines, a future discussion on strategy should cover the following dimensions:

1) Assessment of the school in the framework of society

This should involve a historical assessment of the role of the school and an appreciation of the different interests connected with it. A study of "educational economy" would probably reveal the close relationship between the school and state institutions on the one hand and the interests of a monopolistic private sector of the economy on the other.

2) Developing goals to promote democratization

This is where peace education should be seen as part of the overall social struggle. This and the determination of the preconditions for peace are the concrete goals for the coordinated restructuring of school and society.

3) Estimating resistance and counter strategies

Because it includes information about and the elimination of the origins of the lack of peace, peace education as part of a socialist strategy is in contradiction to the existing system, to the interests of the very groups who profit from war and its preparation and for whom "peace" is thus only of ideological value. The strength of these forces and the available counter ressources must be exactly calculated.

4) Developing of an implementation strategy according to the "double strategy principle"

From 3) it follows that an implementation strategy must have two components: a) it must include a mobilization strategy in order to make full use of available forces, and b) must include a reform strategy on a day-to-day basis in order to broaden the basis for counter strategies. It is only once these levels have been elucidated that it will be possible to develop instruments to assess the value of models and certain actions. In our view, it is only then that a proper differentiation of target groups can take place.

5) The planning and development of suitable games and teaching material

If the development of a just and peaceful society is to be seen as a long-term prospect and task, then the necessary "mobilization" should be understood more as a political principle and less as a day-to-day activity. Schools, teacher training centres and other educational institutions have an important preparatory and participatory role to play. The planning and development of didactic concepts and materials is therefore essential. In this context a start could be made with some of the examples mentioned in this report.

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THE POLITICIZING OF EVERYDAY LIFE:

SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF PEACE

1. Peace - from Empty Universal Formula to Specific Situational Concretisation

Peace politics without long-term scientific peace research is running into more and more difficulties. But peace research itself is in danger of becoming an authority only to be referred to by those concerned with the preventive handling of conflicts, even before it has itself clarified its aims, methods, and possibilities.

In its first phase, in the 1960s, peace research was concerned primarily with the formulation of theories regarding strategic disarmament and security politics, and introduced the criticism of the international threat and deterrent system. It succeeded in logically taking ad absurdum the 'reasoning' behind the deterrent spiral (Boulding, Rapoport, Senghaas, among others). However, politically speaking, this criticism remained without consequence, because it lacked the necessary sanctioning power, in view of the decisive authority of power-politics.

Why did this criticism of the bipolar deterrent system meet with so little response even from the critical public, and why was it given virtually no practical support from any section of any democratic society? The answer is most probably that , from the very outset, it stylised the deterrent system as an unshakable fact defying all transforming influences brought to bear on it by social groups: it hypostatised the deterrent system as conflict dynamism, with no real origins autochthonous and self-contained, aloof from the actual governmental and power structures of antagonistic societies - a kind of spiritless natural mechanism above the heads of societies capable of peace. However, in the following study, both turn out to be one-dimensional: both the structure of the above-mentioned bipolar military autism, as well as the implicit assumption that societies have a relatively uncorrupted capacity for peace.

Also without consequence in this early phase were peace researchers' suggestions about conflict regulation. This was so because they developed conflict-regulation models with decreased annihilating potential as the only alternative to dynamic armament. In the final analysis, these remained only quantitatively differentiated from the incriminating deterrent models of the military powers. Paralysed by the absolute and totally dominant position of international violence, this sort of peace research remains unable to define peace as something positive, as dimensionally a different quality in national and international relations. Accordingly, wherever peace research persists in advocating - as the arms control school does - fighting the devil with Beelzebub only and treating the arms syndrome only homoeopathically 1), this research has indeed 'fallen for the mystification of total violence, which reveals itself in the reasoning behind the plans made by the deterrent machines'. (Koch 1972, p. 425)

The arms limitation settlement signed in Moscow by Breshnev and Nixon in summer 1972, provisionally concluding the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, was interpreted by the treaty partners themselves as an expression of peace-promoting policy. In its SIPRI Yearbook 1972, the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute comes to the conclusion, however, that the political administration in the US and the USSR had the same difficulties resisting those groups in their own societies which were continually clamouring for new and more effective weapons. Therefore the way to an effective control of armament leads us into the realm of domestic politics. Social conditions must be recognized as a decisive and new determining factor in the possible attainment of peace.

SIPRI also verifies the most recent shift of interest within critical peace research: just as in the early phase the deterrent configuration had been viewed only as a self-contained, closed system without its social substratum, so now people are also increasingly coming to realize that armament complexes are parts of larger social structures' (Senghaas 1972, p.8) and that their violence structure indeed has its roots in economic, social, and psychodynamic conditions. Not least in order to prevent the inner structure of their social systems, so fraught with conflicts, from undergoing a critical and transforming shock, the US and the USSR have been forced to resort to the institutionalisation of their bilateral cooperation as sketched above. If peace research wants to make useful suggestions towards damming up the waters of the vast overflowing armaments pool, it must indirectly elicit data about the violence structure within the armament societies themselves. Only then will it be able to achieve praxeological consequences by setting itself constructive objectives (strategies for change).

An indispensable part of this focus of critical social scientists concerned with peace and violence research is -

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1) Brockhaus 1968 (p.573): 'Homöopathie: the treatment of a disease by small doses of drugs which in large doses in healthy persons would produce its symptoms.'

not counting the renewed research into imperialism 2) - Johan Galtung's much-quoted attempt to reach an extended concept of peace analogous to the basic differentiation between personal and structural violence. (Galtung 1969, pp.167 ff.) This includes a negative concept to be interpreted as the absence of personal violence, and a positive concept of peace, to be interpreted as social justice (equal distribution of power and resources as well as absence of structural violence). Peace research, up to this point possessing only a negative concept of peace vis-à-vis the international system of violence, would not gain new perspectives on the basis of the Galtung differentiations (=phase 2). It would have to depart from its purely deductive methods of defining violence as a universal structure of social systems first of all within the framework of a functional table of categories, whereby individual manifestations of violence are considered merely as exponents of the surrounding, enclosing structure. Above all, it would have to free itself from the constraint of system-analytical categorisation, which easily leads to a neo-scholastic set of concepts and not to constructive data collection on social conditions and the potential of peace (praxeological consequences, concrete work programmes, formulation of specific action plans for concrete social institutions).

In other words, peace research would in a future third phase have to move on from an axiomatic deductive, order-oriented discipline interested primarily in analytic awareness, to an empirical-inductive, practice-oriented science interested predominantly in political awareness - with the latter dialectically related to the former. Only in this way, by a process of long, interdisciplinary research, will the social conditions of peace be able to be differentiated and ascertained.

But it is by no means the case that continued criticism of the constantly modified deterrent system (phase 1) has thereby become obsolete. On the contrary: the schematisation of the short research history of the science of peace does not mean that one of these phases has come to an end; rather, it only makes clear the higher complexity which can be recognized today in the problem of peace.

The partially completed results and the hypotheses of the Bochum research project 'Social Conditions of Peace', presented in the book from which this article has been prepared (Bahr 1972), are to be regarded as a contribution to the

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2) Compare the collection of studies about the sociology of hierarchical structure in Senghaas 1972a. The bibliography contains several hundred titles.

third phase in the research 3). This latter phase is to be determined by the following premises:

1) Galtung's definition of a 'positive concept of peace through social justice' allows the peace researcher to move from an empty universal formula to specific situational concretisation. A practical victory cannot arise from this semantic victory until the implications have been made real. Examples: (a) Study of the social causes of conflicts (conflicts for authority, institution conflicts, class conflicts, etc.); (b) Critical examination of programmes for teaching peace. The main question here: are the postulates of tolerance and good understanding to be unreflectingly transferred from the international conflict level to that within society with an eventually integrating and domesticating effect, or does the 'freeing from the conflicts produced by hierarchical establishments'4) still remain to be considered as the objective of peace educators, according to Galtung's definition?

2) If one regards peace as something positive, viewing it from the postulate of social justice, then peace research does not so much obey preventive demands for mere models for regulating conflicts within the general framework of governmental crisis management. Rather, it defines itself positively as a society-orientated 'theory of development' with the praxeological aim of a new science of planning relevant to domestic politics. It studies the individual and institutional conditions of political socialisation, develops models for various stages of learning, and works out conflict-activating plans of action for specific social institutions. If one now specifies the postulated universals of positive peace (= social justice = equal destribution of power and resources, see above) in regard to the concrete, everyday problems of a welfare state, then the positive definition of the aim of peace

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3) This project is being carried out by the Deutsche Geselischaft für Friedens- und Konfliktforschung. In the basic project paper (90 typed pages) the tasks of the three research sections are individually outlined. Section A: The anthropological conditions of peace: Investigation into the anthropological conditions both of aggressiveness and of unwillingness to be peaceable. The aim: to work out conditions for the conflict capacity of the individual and of social groups , as well as the conditions for overcoming inter-individual violence relationships (pp.32ff.). Section C: Education conditions for peace: working out models and new didactic methods for teaching in schools and parishes, ranging from preschool development promotion to the complex: parochial activity and the mass-media impulse (p. 49). The research project began on 1 November 1971 on the basis of the furthest advanced work at that time, which was Section B: The social conditions of peace.

4) Compare the pertinent ideas of Karin Priester (1972). Quote here is from page 31.

can be brought to a point in the multidimensional complex of tasks involved in political participation. This can be formulated as the equal share in all public and non-public decision-making as well as full participation in the material 5) and non-material resources of society. Participation in the comprehensive sense is correspondingly valid for the research plan here documented as a positive ingredient of social peace. Only in this sense is the programmatic title 'Politicising of everday life' to be understood.

3) Clearly, only a multidisciplinary approach can do justice to the task. What is needed is an approach which takes into account psychosocial questions of political and religious socialisation as much as the economic, legal, security-political, social, and educational components of participation.

The normative conditions of peace are thereby not established a priori as a 'theory' through a separate process: rather, they are formulated from one case to the next in a dialectic correlation between a peace-orientated theory and social 'practice'. Research which approaches the problem thus consequently inquires into the normative conditions of peace while at the same time ascertaining - empirically, critically, and constructively - present-day social conditions of peace, first of all in the framework of easily manageable projects. In following this [illegible], however, the research must not perpetuate the mistakes made by most peace research up to the present: the studied avoidance of any theory critical to society (C. Koch). The methodological advantages of this second, pragmatic approach are obvious: axioms of medium range for transforming existing structures in peace-promoting systems are to be gained in the pursuit of limited concrete research projects, instead of a sweeping extension of research topics involving the corresponding overtaxing of the research groups themselves (the acquiring of information, questions as to the groups' competence or rather the problem of dilettantism, etc.) In this second approach, small learning objectives are first set, objectives which take into consideration the special qualifications and the actual capacity of the research team. The probability of independence and original research contributions to the main discipline increases beyond the mere adaption of other peoples' theories.

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5) Fritz Vilmar shows the way here in Vilmar 1971, p.5. The general concept of co-determination in all sections of society stands and falls with the question of how much real direct cooperation and co-determination there is at the work place. Without co-determination at the work-place the entire concept of co-determination 'is a colossus with feet of clay'. See also Vilmar/Möller 1972, p. 248 ff.; similarly, Vilmar 1973.

Galtung's theoretical demand for equating peace with the creation of social justice has been - independent of the discussions about theory in Scandinavian Peace Research - as it were dramatised for the world public and in symbolic action staged in practical political terms by the decision of the Geneva World Council of Churches in 1970 (Arnoldshain) and in 1972 (Utrecht) to give more material support to political freedom movements in Africa, Latin America, and other areas.

Here too the positive practice of direct political involvement with national resistance groups advocating peaceful political aims corresponds to a negative concept of the church's peace-mission in terming it the 'Anti-racism-Programme'. In Canterbury in 1969 the Ecumenical Council decided upon a programme of a 'new distribution of social, economic, political and cultural power from the strong to the weak'. This programme can and must now, if positive peace forms an integral and indivisible whole, be equally applied to all the powerless and underprivileged of the earth, and is therefore also fundamentally valid for the rich, highly industrialised societies.

It is in this further sense of the first empirical theological application of what was originally only an anti-racial ecumenical programme for peace to the everyday conflicts of a welfare state that we understand the peace and participation programme sketched as follows.

2. Hypotheses and Partially Completed Results

2.1 Hypothesis A

Multicausal experiences of helplessness (a) are converted into a diminishing interest in politics which results in a growing insensibility towards the suffering of others (b).

To (a) Hierarchies in firms and industries, insecurity at the place of work, fear about the status etc. (production sphere); being worn down by the struggle for basic necessities (sleep, a place to live, learning, playing, etc.) (reproduction sphere); a general feeling of being in principle unable to change anything either in international or in local structures which promotes discord.

To (b) Problems of the Third World, traditional fringe groups (the old, the homeless, criminals, the mental ill), new marginal situations (e.g. small families isolated in new housing areas)

2.2 Hypothesis B

Citizens' initiative/inward effect: processes of learning. The feeling of political helplessness is not to be overcome in the framework of an idealistic didacticism which reckons with man's indestructible common sense, nor by appeals to morality (the method of the classical political education system as well as the educational practice of the Church). This inner feeling of powerlessness is rather to be overcome - at least in some places - by learning in the social field itself. This means the direct involvement in conflict-oriented citizen action groups, and the political socialisation of citizens.

Citizens' initiative/outward effect: political participation; structural changes. Formally, citizens' initiatives can be classified according to the level of conformity with or divergence from the overall social system. The main question here: are the general conditions of a system whose primary concern is with growth to be transformed by a certain action group (cf. Hypothesis C), or is it only that those local reform measures which were in the offing anyway are signaled (citizens' initiative as an integrated early warning system)?

2.3 Hypothesis C

Citizens' associations can exercise the function of dramatising groups for concrete system-changing forms and the ingredients of human coexistence, thus preparing the way for their institutionalisation. Besides this anticipatory staging of practicable Utopias in the local sphere, they also recall political aims of peace and structural reforms which had been pushed aside - although they had been laid down in the constitution ('dangerous memories').

Two types of such dramatising groups can be distinguished here. They differ not so much in the form their action group takes as in the objective they are endeavouring to reach.

1) Citizen action groups which publicly and outside parliament dramatise the rights of underprivileged minorities in society, whose rights have formally and legally long since be granted but which in actual fact are still being withheld. By that we mean those groups which sue for such rights in conflict-oriented demonstrations; examples are the Civil Rights Movement insofar as it follows Martin Luther King's concept and that of the SCLC; also similar demonstrations of American Mexicans, Puertoricans and other minorities in the USA; also the self-help action groups in West European towns, such as demonstrations by settlers in new housing areas, the consumer protection society, etc. Action groups of this kind aim at equality for all but remain firmly within the bounds of the liberal democratic

system.

2) Citizen action groups which not only dramatically 'recover' that which de jure belongs to those who have been given a raw deal by society but over and above this - mostly by symbolic actions - also aim for new rights, the achievement of which is in no way provided for in the present political system in the West. Examples are the occupation of uninhabited houses in Italy, Holland, and towns in the Federal Republic of Germany by people who had nowhere to live. These are groups which, despite sporadic, direct action, attack on the theoretical level the entire distribution of property along capitalistic lines. There are also the goods-boycott actions of the Dutch Shalom groups which fundamentally question the orientation of economic relations with Third World countries conducted entirely according to the principle of profit maximisation. They are in fact questioning the 'most natural' premise of the liberal trading society.

Thus through symbolic actions not only public states of distress are highlighted and dramatised;but also new ways of life are anticipated which transcend the established system. The fact that - at least in small groups - there is already anticipated in practice that which tomorrow ought to come to us all is evidence of a new and not merely conservative method of effecting peace in society. The anticipation of humane forms of organisation in public and private life in one's own actions is perhaps also more convincing than an inconsequent reflection on new possibilities for society. The old proverb still holds true today: 'Verba docent, exempla trahunt' - freely translated: although words, theoretical explanation, are informative, it is really only the living example which moves people to action.

Such symbolic actions from citizens follow the old tradition of prophetic symbolic actions and of the classical social revolutionary reform groups. The result is that, from a theological point of view, they stand in total opposition to all cult priests'attempts at preserving those religions which are a substitute for actual mature participation in public decisionmaking. Or, politically formulated, they stand in practical opposition to all those who in pseudo-paternal fashion exclude the citizen from all decisionmaking by pointing out its ever-growing complexity.

2.4 Hypothesis D

The decisive social discrepancy lies as much as ever in the economic and social inequality of citizens who in terms of formal politics do possess equal rights. This unquestionable analytic finding often leads to the hasty and erroneous conclusion that a strategy intending change can be initiated only in the production sphere. The work of the Bochum research project, however, concentrates on participation in the home and recreation sphere (reproduction sphere) for the following reasons:

- It has been maintained (C. Offe, H. Habermas) the recreation sphere is the place where by way of social compensation, amends are made for lack of chances to participate in the production sphere; this is done in order to secure mass loyalty and thus make the system crisis-proof. If this is so, then the experiencing of involvement within this sphere cannot but affect the whole system.

- This politicalisation is a process that comes about through various stages of learning. It is not in the production sphere but in the reproduction sphere that areas of conflicts and actions can be opened up, areas in which the citizen can become involved without exposing himself to a direct threat to his existence.

- It is to be expected that out of possible successes in this personal reproduction sphere and out of first-hand experience gained in decisionmaking, there will develop a certain self-perpetuating dynamism which will make its effect felt beyond this purely intimate sphere.

- In the reproduction sphere, models for action are available. These can be put into practice without delay - as opposed, for example, to the models for social change which are concerned with the sphere of institutionalised socialisation (W.-D. Narr). In it a double lag must be reckoned with: the time it takes for new accepted standards for institutions to assert themselves, and the time it takes for the effects of socialisation to show themselves.

3. Categories in the Analysis of Citizens' Initiative

3.1 Types of Involvement as an Effect of Class Difference or Social Status

A continuum of actions based upon the criterion of degree in involvement of the participants gives the following picture:

Vivid negative experiences gained in a physical-psychical manner can function as action impulses. Such experiences range from mere inconvenienes (for example, the lack of a shopping centre in a newly built-up area) to elementary threats (for example, loss of one's home due to a redevelopment project). The approach of those involved is in the related self-help activity primarily affective-emotional; the materialistic motivation dominates.

Abstract or anticipated forms of involvement which require a certain insight into the system may also function as action impulses (for example, citizen reactions against the establishment of a political majority within boards of directors of radio stations, participation in the planning, educational-political actions). In these cases of activity relating to the system the approach is primarily cognitive, communicated through mass-media coverage, for instance. The ideal motivation dominates.

Indirect involvement - such as in the 'Third World' actions and in work with marginal groups - may function as action impulse. In this 'altruistic' involvement, the approach is affective (solidarity) as well as cognitive (working over of information); the ideal motivation dominates.

Generally, it may be said that members of the lower social classes are motivated to take part in actions through direct involvement, whereas the third category of actions is essentially carried out by members of the upper middle class.

These findings might provide hints towards a theory of learning levels in the field of political socialisation: if class membership is defined in terms of income, schooling, freedom to make decisions at work, speech levels, repertoire of roles, etc., then we can identify membership in the lower class with a lack of autonomy in all these areas. From this would follow that an individual stability based on experience in autonomy during a person's own lifetime is the prerequisite for a person to reach beyond his own problem horizon. The experience of success in the course of citizen actions possibly accumulates these stability experiences (multiparticipation, lasting motivation).

3.2 Citizens' Initiative and Class Membership 6)

It is indeed correct that 'the social potential for action of citizens' initiative 'crosses' the mainlines of the professional stratification and class structure' (or is in complicated superimposing relations with these) (C.Offe). However, within the realms of involvement mentioned, we can recognize level-dependent differences in the quantity and quality of the activities of those involved.

Whether with self-help measures taken by those occupying newly-developed areas or by marginal groups, or with activities concerning change of structures (property rights, environment protection, city planning, educational politics), or with defence measures taken against state interference

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6) We owe the following considerations to Hans-Jürgen Benedict.

(state-of-emergency laws, § 218 ('Abortion'), Bavaria's broadcasting regulation), in all areas members of the middle class take the leading role. This holds true with the initiation as well as with the carrying out of the actions.

This dominance appears to result from the following cause: Members of the middle class, just as members of the lower class, are affected by the neglect of community responsibilities (no playgrounds, too few kindergartens, overfilled school classes, unreasonably high rent). As far as that goes, for them, too, negative experiences become a primary action impulse. Importantly, however, these grievances are not quite so elementary to the middle class as they are for the lower classes. The latter are particularly affected by the lacks in the system (in the continuation of their unequal share of privileges in the classical phase of capitalism) and find, therefore, their capacity absorbed completely in the daily struggle against these adversities.

In contrast to the working class, the middle class members are in a better position: they can proceed from mere doing away with symptoms to dealing with the system itself. And they can articulate the new life's need made possible by the development of the productive powers. It is thus possible to state a cause and effect relationship between material security and ideal involvement in citizen initiative.

Within the middle class, involvement is pursued with differing degrees of intensity. Roughly: professional groups which are in close contact with daily problems of the population at large (teachers, social workers, architects, doctors) show a greater readiness to challenge the administrative authority with the fight against system defects. In contrast to this, the political activity of those who were self-supporting in handicrafts, trade and industry is much more strongly oriented towards their own interests, which explains their dominant role in community politics. Naturally, officials and employees within the administration and industry still internalise the value system of the bureaucracy and the free enterprise to too great an extent to allow them to join initiative groups which criticise the system.

On the one hand, the fact that they are largely refused ascent to a carefree 'middle class' level despite the improvement in their standard of living has an inhibiting effect on the involvement of the workers (and employees) in citizens' initiative. Through this, however, they lack a decisive prerequisite for that autonomy of conduct which enables readiness for opposition and conflict. Members of the lower class can, indeed, experience individual stability which enables them to reach beyond their own problem horizon (structural and altruistic involvement) by participating in self-help actions with their primarily affective-emotional approach. Guaranteed income (not completely swallowed by costs of reproducing the labour power) better schooling (which would facilitate the cognitive approach to social problems), a greater share in decisionmaking at work (which would relieve the dulling effect of the work) would, however, have to be added as elementary requirements for a stronger democratic involvement of the worker. On the other hand, it appears that the collective experiences which are constructive for the working class and which take the place of individual civil independence must still be made primarily in the areas of production. Participation in citizen initiatives - indeed, the mere example of successful protest movements in the area of reproduction - can, however, have a stimulating effect on this process. Look, for example, at the relationship between what happened in Paris, May 1968, and the occupation of factories in France. Or look at the imitation of student protest forms in the September strikes of 1969 in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Concerning the change of late-capitalistic industrial society, one might, at the moment, speak of a division of labour determined by class status but which cannot possibly be abolished: while 'the intermediate classes - especially the intellectuals, the teachers, those employed in public service, the employees, indeed even many technicians and engineers' (E. Mandel) - criticise the neglect of common obligations and present alternatives, massworker-mobilisation would have to strive for that public control of production and distribution of public wealth which enables realisation of this alternative better life, also in financial respects.

4. Reflection of the Conflict in the Subject, and the Objective Relevance of the Conflict for the System as a Whole

Changes in society have mostly taken place through the application of social pressure. As with resistance actions the readiness to suffer is essential to their success, so with citizens' initiative the readiness for conflict with state, political parties, and administration is essential to their success.

Subjectively, conflict intensity will be measured by how much the citizen takes a risk to existence through participation in initiatives. The question is how many segments of the entire role will be involved in the conflict. Here also the degree of readiness to take a risk will be a function of learning experience (see above). The subjective assessment of conflict intensity may well differ from the objective meaning of the conflict for the social surroundings. Participation on the edge of a socially highly explosive field of conflict (e.g. participation in a demonstration against property speculation) can subjectively be experienced as less risky than highly engaged participation in a conflict of little social significance (e.g. involvement in a citizens' initiative against the changing of street names). Both of these aspects of conflict experience must be taken into consideration in a didactics of the conflict.

The transparency of the conflict and the access to it for those involved, as well as for those outside, is important for the transforming effect of citizens' initiatives upon the participants and upon the opposition addressed. The spectrum ranges from slight accessibility/intransigence of the conflict (interweaving of impenetrable interests, power asymmetry, apparent or actual obligation to fact) to unproblematic accessibility/evidence (direct recognition of the problem, argumentative impact, good prospects of success). In the course of citizens' initiatives, intransigence can be modified to the didactically formed evidence under certain circumstances. This is clear from the three drafts of cases following.

I. Intransigence of the Conflict
Stuttgart-West: A City Area Comes Under the Hammer

Stuttgart-West, residential quarter from the time of Stuttgart's founding, is presently being swallowed up by the city: industrial and administrative buildings are replacing the residences. Many tenants have already had to leave their homes or have been given notice.

a) 'Where 500 people live, 1500 could work'. The decisions of the administration pave the way for restructuring. Projected building plans indicate that Stuttgart-West will become an industrial and administrative area.

b) 'The claims are demarcated'. The restructuring will be pushed on, but by the economically interested who buy and tear up whole housing blocks. The strategy:

- 'We had only one choice: either to take the 1400 employed workers out of the city, or in this way enlarge our area'. The threat of loss of trade taxes forces the city administration to go along with the plan.
- 'We want to create a generously laid-out, experimental kindergarten'. Open conflicts are avoided through deceptive compromises.
- 'We have gotten the tenants out unexpectedly fast'. 'Here and there a few old people are still living in the houses we bought. That problem will solve itself'. The long-term possibilities of industry override the shorter perseverance of the citizens who must secure their elementary needs for living.

The hand-in-hand game of the city administration and industry presents the citizen with a two-front war, makes alliances impossible, and leaves him unable even to contact the decision level on which the planning takes place.
A citizens' initiative which attempts to check the development in Stuttgart-West can count on the indignation and sup-

port of many citizens. (3500 signatures have been collected.) They will not, however, succeed in carrying through their demands against administration and industry:

- We want to remain in Stuttgart-West.
- Considering the lack of 19000 welfare apartments in Stuttgart, it is an irresponsible act to tear up well-preserved housing.

At best, the citizens can succeed in forcing industry to carry out its plans more carefully and in obligating the administration to ease the hardships by providing housing. But the fact remains: the breaking up of Stuttgart-West will not be stopped.

II. Evidence of the Conflict

Frankfurt: Parents' Initiative: 'Change the School - Now!'

For 5 to 10 year old children the government spends only one third of the funds it appropriates for the education of 15 to 19 year olds. As a result there are unbearable conditions in the elementary schools: an average of 40 children per class, a lack of teaching equipment, and too small and unsuitable classrooms. The status of the school problems in local election campaigns is not to be overlooked: the deplorable state of affairs is clearly known to numerous parents and those responsible for these problems. Nonetheless: for 20 years reforms have been demanded, but in vain. Lame excuses and arguments: no money, no teachers, no classrooms. Dramatisation of the school problems through parents' initiative:

- Clear demands upon the responsible parties, combined with threats and challenges.
- Temporary refusal of enrollment of the children in schools responsible.
- Public demonstrations with children in the city center at rush hours (before elections!)

First reactions of those responsible: unsure, positive, but evasive and diverting.

- The Ministry of Education: 'The Hessian regional government was and is continually striving to improve the schools, not just to change them. All improvements are possible, however, only within the framework of reality.'
- City Board of Education: The department supports fully the demands of the citizens' initiative and promises to provide the necessary classrooms.

Reactions after intensified pressure, after ultimate demands for the hiring of professionals who were not at that time teaching in the schools (as temporary immediate measures), accompained with an appeal of the parents to such professionals:

- Surprisingly unbureaucratic hiring, which required months of red tape beforehand.
- Attempt of the city's Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) to put forward the parents' programme as their own political programme.
- The support of the citizens's initiative through the 'Action small class': Granting of money, large-scale publicity campaigns etc.

Success: 357 applicants were immediately added to the teaching staffs. As a result there was a remarkably lower number of pupils per class in the first classes at the beginning of the 197o school year in Frankfurt (1/3 of the classes had fewer than 25).

III. Didactically Produced Evidence of the Conflict
Rotterdam, Het Oude Westen: Total Reconstruction

Het Oude Westen, a quarter near Rotterdam City Centre, most of whose buildings were erected between 189o and 191o, was threatened with a total reconstruction that, at the same time, was marked out for a functional transformation of the area from a mainly residential area into an administrative, office and business area as well as an entertainment centre. The official reconstruction plan scheduled medium-term a demolition of 1o% of the housing (those determined to be in poorest condition); only casually is the functional transformation mentioned. The clarity of the problem became lost for the inhabitants through the medium-to long-range planning. The full significance was found out only indirectly; the local press, politicians, experts, and district councillors expressed moderate criticism.

As soon as those affected begin to grasp the inadequacy of the situation, access to the planning problem is opened. The picture: bad financial situation of the quarter, inadequate housing quality, very bad street paving, unfavourable traffic situation, lack of playgrounds, and rat plague.

The cooperation of Community Organisers with architects enables the development of alternative plans for the community planning. The citizens are deliberately confronted with these problems at quarter meetings. (This would be an introduction of an organised learning process for the broadening of the awareness of the interests involved in the planning.)

Around this very subject of skipping the interests directly vital to the inhabitants, the group problems crystallise later. The expansion of the theme, necessary when dealing with the administration, leads to the destruction of the original core group (mainly housewives and workers). Certain tendencies towards bureaucracy appear.The activity of the action group is directed by the intellectuals. Only through a pointed and planned information and communications policy (quarterly newspaper, quarterly meetings, street committees, personal connexions of group members) and through differentiation of the formulation of the task suitable to the varying interests within the group can feedback on the needs of the affected populace be partially restored.

5. Citizens' Initiative an Institution

The following question remains open: how can the advantages of coordinated dramatising groups be combined with the advantage of increased ability to succeed offered by socially accepted participation systems which participate in the power market? Within the broad spectrum of the actions and activities, we distinguish transitions from coordinated to institutionalised forms. The handicap, which becomes more prominent with increasing institutionalisation, lies in the danger of integration, of being absorbed into the 'marketing strategy' of organisations. A demoscopic participation, then, very quickly allows early recognition of conflict material and the means of avoiding it. On the other hand, of course, the ability to sanction initiatives grows with institutionalisation (for example, the possibility to enforce rights granted). Modelwise, steps of the institutionalisation can be discerned.

I. Sporadic Action as Confrontation with the City Administration: Occupation of Houses in Frankfurt-Westend

At first the problem is dramatised by a sporadic action deliberately intended to violate the rules. (Problem: Real estate speculation - more profitable use of sites close to the city through the construction of 16 to 20-storied office-buildings is possible only after a permit to demolish the existing housing is obtained through the municipality. Therefore, houses which are intact are deliberately neglected.) In a nocturnal action the vacant house in Eppsteiner Straße No 47 was occupied. The rooms were repapered and the fence painted. A fir tree was planted in the garden. The occupation aroused a wave of solidarity (neighbours sent furniture, money and plum cake), which, for the first time, seriously threatened to embarrass the so-called 'speculators-mafia' in what was formerly the most exclusive area.

At the same time the news of this action was transmitted via journalistic media, which clearly tended to support these actions. This is a matter of a 'democratic' transmission: it is not a reactive ex post report from the point of view of the administration and police, but a constitutional part of the action itself. The effect: quick informing of a broad public, initiation of further occupation of houses (chain reaction) in the entire federal territory, functioning to reinforce the action itself.

The possibility follows: legal institutionalisation of the innovative impulse (reform of legal means against the misuse of housing space (municipal council), renovation of the law (Land, Federal Republic).

February 1, 1972: decree concerning the misuse of housing space. May 15, 1972: decisions concerning the implementation of a resolution by the municipal council:

- If housing space is misused, a settlement sum is demanded (for example, the document concerning this social issue demands the sum of DM 1500 per square metre. An estate under question on the Bockenheimer Landstraße would have yielded DM 4.000.000). However in negotiations the town-council has not agreed on a fixed sum.
- Persecution of rent-profiteers is intensified.
- Foreign workers without residence permits shall not be deported if they instigate litigation against rent profiteering.
- A cover organisation was founded to head the individual occupying groups: 'Red Aid, Council for the Houses Occupied'.

Interim results: Regional transcendence of the capitalistic organisation of social conditions, rather an approximation of social justice in a municipal region.

A spontaneous, informal, principally independent group; voluntary participation dependent on the degree of involvement (motivation) and social level. But: problem of contingency, instability, and a lack of certainty in the possibilities of achieving goals.

II. Apprentices in Essen: Support Through Power-Holders

An informal working group (WG) of industrial and mercantile apprentices formed in Essen in 1968 has succeeded in combining the advantages of coordinated action of initiative groups with the institutional possibilities of power-holders (churches, trade unions). Their aim is the improvement of professional training. Through sampling, the WG sheds light on unbelievable grievances in the field of professional training, which it reports to the public. The firms concerned react sharply. Thus arise lawsuits for a number of apprentices.

- The WG largely succeeds in proving its charges and on the court record disproving the defamation raised by the firms and boards.

- Through public action and through information passed to the industrial inspection board, firms are forced to deal with grievances. Other firms follow voluntarily.
- The actions have considerable influence in changing the awareness to those problems in the Federal Republic of Germany.
- All court judgements are requested by a Federal Ministry at the Superior Court in Essen. The material collected by the WG is to form the basis of a professional training reform. There are points listed in the 'Action Program of Professional Training' of the Federal Government (December 1970) which would be unthinkable had it not been for the fight of the apprentices.

The positive attitude of the trade unions towards the action means considerable legal protection and has a considerable bearing on the success.

This relative integration of the action within an institution does not mean an acceptance of the original core group: On the occasion of an action against a retail firm (owner: a member of the provincial legislature representing the Social Democratic Party of Germany) the trade union members were bound through institutional loyalty, whereas the independent apprentice groups could approach the object conflict from the outside. At the same time an impulse for reform was brought into the institution by the extra-institutional activity of apprentices (making stricter standards, initiations of more productive debates over goals).

Advantages of a spontaneous informal group are reinforced by measures of an established authority. Independence can be fairly well preserved.

III. Community Organization (C-O) in Munich: Actions Initiated by Institutions

Since the beginning of 1970 a C-O-team has been working in Hasenbergl-Nord in an accomodation area for 2 700 homeless persons (temporary supporters: Caritas and Victor-Gollancz foundation). Differing from the method of case work, the C-O uses the method of social group work and social action in (mainly) geographic units (Communities) as work areas.

The goal of the teamwork in Hasenbergl:

- To change the social group (homeless persons without influence upon political, economic or local events); i.e. to awake in them a common problem consciousness and to show the real manifestation and consequences of minor contradictions of a capitalistic society, to illuminate social backgrounds, to develop common perspectives and strategies of social changes, and to solve problems through the common actions of those involved (reduction of the pressure situation).

- To enable the social group to go beyond the requirements of social-political engagement to a self-reliant maintenance of their interests and to participation in political decision-making processes as a step towards emancipation.

This concept of a catalytic C-O differs from the pluralistic harmony-concept (cooperation, arbitration) taken from traditional US social work, since it is aimed at a change in the power-balance and redistribution of power through initiation of social action among disadvantaged persons having solidarity. It is an institutionally supported organisational attempt, related to the cause of the problems, which intends to develop and apply methods which will eliminate or change conditions (of the system).

Independent of chance spontaneity through planned stimulation. Self-reliance systematically built up. Stabilising an informal, low-conflict and weakly-motivated group outwardly and inwardly directed through social group work. The risk of institutional care and control and therewith integration, prevention of a conflict struggle.

IV. Planning Cell: Institutionalisation of Participation

Participation models which break through the traditional participation forms and do not leave the individual participation to spontaneous pressure from below, but which institutionalise the participation, are principally being suggested and realised in the area of planning.

One model of citizen participation in the planning process has been submitted by P. Dienel. To be assured of realisation, this model certainly requires complete reinforcement through law. Actually Dienel does not consider his model utopian, since in the long run, planning decisions, without the public functioning as idea-bearer, can no longer be efficient. (The state building promotion law may be counted as a step in this direction.)

The planning cell represents a use of project-oriented, group-internal learning process for the purpose of planning. In order to remove the grip of certain interests from the institutionalised participation (of the 400 property owners in the basic assembly of the Düsseldorf citizens' forum, there were 200 architects and designers alone), the planning cell should be occupied by a representative sampling of the population. A lawful 'planning vacation' ensures participation of those chosen. Experience with groups engaged today in planning processes indicates that it is possible to produce interest and involvement in participants. Being informed is a function of participation, according to Dienel.

Apart from the difficulties of realising the model, the danger of a stabilizing absorption of conflict material through pseudo-participation cannot be denied. So long as the possibilities of carrying through the models formulated by the planning cells remain unclear, it is hard to estimate if basic activity is not merely exploited as a pool of ideas with simultaneous disciplining of resistance (namely by restoring a vent function on the planning cells).

No spontaneous personal initiative, duty instead of a voluntary attitude, advantages of the systematic (methodical) development of competence and legally sound citizen participation, danger of the disparate group which is fully integrated into the authority. Motivation, preparedness produceable?

From the attempt advanced here to categorise citizens' initiatives according to cognitive points of views, a twofold consequence results:

First, the analytical viewpoints specified (conflict aspect, degree of transparency, degree of institutionalisation, level analysis etc.) have to be combined in a multifactor analysis model which alone can claim to represent the complex social reality fairly adequately.

Second, the different aspects of the participation conditions can only be considered from a multi-disciplinary approach.

For the cognitive aspect of citizen's initiative, the latest mass-media effectiveness research can give valuable hints. Stimulus-response learning theory and the behavioural theory based on it offer transferrable approaches to understanding motivational processes. The results of communications theory explain generalisable patterns of intragroup processes. Organisation sociology furnishes the analysis of conditions for success in the goal systems to which the citizens' initiatives apply. More recent city sociology (H.P. Bahrdt, A. Mitscherlich, J. Jacobs) has introduced public models which should be taken note of for the development of a praxeology of participation with democratic basis, even if these need critical revision.

6. Summary & Conclusions

If one regards peace as something positive, viewing it from the postulate of social justice, then peace research does more than just obey preventive demands for models for regulating conflicts within the general framework of governmental crisis management. Rather it defines itself positively as a society-orientated theory of development with the praxeclogical aim of a new science of planning relevant to domestic politics. It studies the individual and instutional conditions of political socialisation, develops models for various stages of learning, and works out conflict-activating action plans for specific social institutions. If one now specifies the postulated universals of positive peace (= social justice = equal distribution of power and resources) in regard to the concrete, everyday problems of a welfare state, then the positive definition of the aim of peace can be brought to a point in the multidimensional complex of tasks involved in political participation: the equal share in all public and non-public decision-making, as well as full participation in the material and non-material resources of society.

Practical instrumentation of this program needs detailed empirical case-studies, some of which are presented as abstracts in the article. As a result we can recognise different qualities of involvement (merely emotional, cognitive etc.) dependent on class membership and socialisation much more than on individual character.

As for the system-transforming effect of citizen's initiatives it can be said: (a) If the recreation sphere is the place where, as social compensation, amends are made for lack of chances to participate in the production sphere in order to secure mass loyalty and thus to make the system crisis-proof, then experiencing involvement within this sphere must affect the whole system. And (b) this politicising is a process that comes about through various stages of learning. It is not in the production sphere but in the reproduction sphere that areas of conflicts and actions can be opened up, areas in which the citizen can become involved without exposing himself to a direct threat to his existence.

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III. Reports on Approaches to Peace Education in Different Countries

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EDUCATION FOR PEACE AND SOCIAL JUSTICE[x]

Report on the international conference in Bad Nauheim/FRG, November 1-4, 1972

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

The hosting institutions that had sent out invitations to the international conference "Education for Peace and Social Justice" consisted of the following five institutions from the realm of educational research and peace research:

- the Society for the Advancement of Educational Research,
- the Education Committee of the International Peace Research Association (IPRA) established 1971 during the Fourth Annual Convention of IPRA in Bled (Yugoslavia),
- the German Institute for International Educational Research,
- the German Society for Peace and Conflict Research, and
- the Institute for World Order.

This first international conference on peace education in Europe was initiated by Christoph Wulf (German Institute for International Educational Research, Secretary of the IPRA Education Committee), who was also director of the conference. He had invited well-known peace researchers as Galtung (Norway), Senghaas (FRG), Boulding and Mendlovitz (USA), Mazrui (Uganda), Kothari (India), Dasgupta (India), Apostol (Rumania); educational researchers such as Becker, Eisner, Gamm, von Hentig, Husên, Klafki; as well as teachers, social workers, pupils, and students. Thus not only peace researchers and educators, but also representatives of the various target groups were present.

In accordance with the view of peace education as an all-societal problem, representatives of almost every social science were present at Bad Nauheim. Therefore, the interdisciplinary character of peace education and peace research was realized both by the subject matters of the study groups - they were based on pedagogics, political science, psychology in combination with economy, sociology, history, and theology - and by the participants' different realms of interest. Finally, the international character of the conference contributed to the possibility of seeing the global context of peace as social justice: scholars from Africa, South America, and Asia as well as from the socialist countries (Czechoslovakia, GDR, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, USSR, and Yugoslavia) were present. However, the majority came from the USA, Scandinavia, and the FRG. Generally speaking, it were the participants from these countries who determined the character of the conference. As one consequence, they gave the most important impulses to discuss the problems of peace research and an education for liberation - although they took different positions concerning the theory of science. Three positions developed in the course of the discussions:

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[x] The conference materials are published in: Christoph Wulf (Ed.): Friedenserziehung in der Diskussion, München:Piper 1973

- the liberal system orientation
- scientific socialism
- the critical theory of society (Frankfurt School).

Controversies in the discussions can be attributed to these different starting-points; they were related to key questions that were discussed over and over, although they could not be solved during the conference. These problems referred to the relations of peace and social justice, of politics and pedagogics, and of theory and practice.

1.2 Peace and Social Justice

Education for peace is always part of pedagogical concepts because peace as a norm - with a concrete content in each individual case - is one aspect of every valid ideal conception of society. In this context, education for peace has been successful if the belief in the rightness of this norm is sufficiently strong and if people have satisfactorily internalized it as a basis for their behavior orientation. Therefore, the question arises which persons or groups in a society have the power or legitimation to define the concept of peace valid in this society for the time being. If in this context social justice is understood not only qualitatively as a just distribution of GNPs but also as a just distribution of possibilities for autonomy, the result is a threefold demand for the realization of "peace as social justice":

- to accomplish the self-determination of people on the basis of Ego-strength and Ego-identity;
- to enable people to democratize society on the basis of a flexible role performance. (That is one precondition of the establishment of groups with vertical structures and communication lines permitting the reduction of structural violence);

- to enable people to democratize international relations through the transfer of learning processes taking place in groups to transnational processes. Analysis and blue-prints for action must be based on a symmetrical relationship between states. They should not be related primarily to facts and the state of affairs, but to possible actions by which a process towards social justice is started by people affected by the present state of affairs.

These demands are the result of the following analysis: If a conception of peace deduced from a theory of society is fixed dogmatically, this bears the germ of non-peace because the belief in its rightness may pretendedly legitimize the enforcement of this concept of peace. The consequences of such an attitude are shown in historical-political reality wherever non-peace is to be found - either as personal violence or war, or in the sublimated form of structural violence. The fewer the number of equivalent partners who cooperate in defining the valid concept of peace, the more dominance or political power is necessary to maintain it. But if societal groups or states use methods of power policy to realize their idea of peace, they stabilize structural violence. This has a restrictive effect within a society and stabilizes the system; outwards, it functions as means of demarcation and then has a dissociative or even aggressive affect, depending on the dynamics of the idea of peace and the power potential of those who argue for it. Peace as social justice causes a process of liberation only then, if autonomy, democracy, and international understanding are changed in the above sense. Education for peace and social justice is concentrated on the effort to initiate and to adhere to processes like this together with the pupils. Therefore, the corresponding pedagogy must be understood as political pedagogy.

1.3 Politics and Pedagogics

From this connection between a theory of society and the norms valid at a given time follows the political relevance of pedagogy which transmits the social norms. For this purpose, pedagogy uses theoretically based instruments of didactical conceptions. Their epistemological premises were deduced beforehand from a theory of society which is assessed as right. That is to say, pedagogy is in itself political, independent of whether each single educator is aware of the political consequences of his decisions or not. A discussion of the different didactical conceptions which is based on different theories of science is at the same time a political discussion about the question of which interests ought to guide pupils in their perceptions and actions. The acquisition of knowledge promises to be successful if it is fixed to the functionality of the existing system. If people can interpret the history of their own life and of the surroundings by using existing traditions, they can securely communicate and behave in this framework. The interest in liberation aims at reducing superfluous violence and establishing new freedom that enables actions transcending the existing system by information and interpretation. This presupposes the ability to think analytically about self-imposed subject matters on the one hand, and a communicative group interaction on the other side. If education for peace and social justice is conceived in this sence as part of a political process, the question about the dialectical relation between goals and means, between theory and practice, must arise.

1.4 Theory and Practice

As long as the opinion prevails that the goals of tuition are already fixed and shall be pursued with pre-selected examples and given subject matters, the cognitive, emotional, and pragmatic goals are consequently prescribed to the pupils. The "rightness" of such goals is based on the preceding interpretation of the contents. But if pupils are to analyze heteronomous contents with certain given approaches they have no possibility to determine substantial elements of their learning process autonomously.A superficially open tuition atmosphere often deceives the observer. By this, pupils are in fact denied the ability to decide on goals for themselves and means in the process of solving self-imposed problems: i.e., violent structures are maintained and reproduced. This does not correspond with the requirements of an education for peace and social justice.

This is the starting point for different views on the theory and practice of emancipatory peace education: Are the operationalized goals that pupils are to reach given in advance? Or are primarily the pupils, i.e. the concrete addressees with concrete interests, to be enabled to think analytically, decide upon their goals and choose the adequate means to pursue them? As long as the devision of labor between theory and practice is maintained in schools - i.e., heteronomous predetermination of subject matters, contents, and goals and the constraint to accept them - structural congruence betweentheory and practice is unobtainable. Furthermore, the pupils are forced to internalize superfluous violence and to subordinate their interests to it.

2. Current Concepts

In this section, the numerous propositions for an education for peace and social justice are systematized and their political efficiency is assessed.

Saul Mendlovitz chose the term "economic welfare" from his "Matrix for the Study of World Order" in order to operationalize his conception of peace education. He claimed that social systems in their function as control systems should be sensitized to give more generous help to countries of the Third World. An international commission could control the just distribution of the money collected for a world fund. The question is what kind of peace is obtainable if we start from a view of the world as a functional control system shared by the nation states as individuals ranked according to the amount of money paid by them. The maximal end of this concept is the "maintenance of prosperity"; the minimal end Mendlovitz calls the "creation of bearable conditions". According to this concept the definition of these "bearable conditions" is determined by the available funds. A qualitative change in international relations is not attainable in this way. The unprecise claim for a sensitization of the systems that, according to Mendlovitz, will lead to a higher readiness to pay is not detailed.

H. von Hentig recommended in his co-lecture to start from experiences in the micropolitical field and then to learn and to form the macropolitical field by analogy to penetrate. As a method he suggested to confront pupils with stories that can stimulate a discussion of phenomena of personal and structural violence. This is based on the same premise: namely,that the world cannot be changed but can be made more tolerable by individual learning to strive for "peace as a result of good politics". "Good" seems to be almost identical with "rational", so Mendlovitz conceives the "tolerable world" as a world with high GNPs balanced according to rational criteria. A liberal attitude in and towards pluralistic societies corresponds to this concept of a functional analysis. As both start from the basic rightness of the existing systems, both presume that a realistic policy is fixed to the rationality of the given systems.

Hans-Jochen Gamm started his paper with the premise that aggression is not innate, but artificially formed by an education adjusted to the social system: the socialization that takes place individually in the family hinders the formation of a capacity for critical analysis and cooperation in a "self-educating community". He said that education based on learning theory had to aim at congruence with the concrete social conditions. Only in this way could "self-humanizing courses" be constructed. This remark provoked questions like "Isn't society primarily something general and abstract, gaining concreteness only insofar as the individual experiences and under stands it?" "Who decides in an educating community what social concreteness means?" "Who determines the theory to be carried out in the educational practice?" and "Who decides upon the outlook of the elements of the learning process - objects and goals?" If progression is measured by the amount of autonomy individuals in communities shall be fitted for according to this concept, it is questionable whether this will have politically positive consequences and whether it permits an emancipatory peace education. Therefore, the question is how much democracy can be realized within this concept which conceives itself as a socialistic one.

Johan Galtung's conception is based on the demand to fit pupils for self-determination and to reduce structural violence. If the three mechanisms of structural violence - vertical division of labor, union of the elites and disunion of the masses, as well as their penetration from the top - become operative in schools, each peace education loses its sense. As peace education curricula are in danger of being constructed with a vertical division of labor, they easily can come into contradiction with the principles of peace education if they have as a goal that pupils shall find the same results as researchers and teachers and if pupils are not stimulated to become aware of their own interests and subject matters. Even socialistic concepts run this risk of heterodetermination. Peace education is than carried out as a kind of left paternalism. As long as social analyses are investigated only with subject matters oriented along the interests of nation states, they are always rightist and do not offer possibilities for alternatives that transcend the system. According to this conception, peace as social justice is identical with a radical democratization of social dependency conditions by a process that starts in small groups within a society and, going beyond the nation state, changes international relations.

The speakers from the Third World - Ali Mazrui, Rajni Kothari, and Sugata Dasgupta - were dealing with the problems imposed on these countries by technologies forced upon them and by extraneous norms connected with them. Each of these speakers demanded the right of self-determination and self-interpretation for the countries of the Third World. Until now, these had been refused them, as their economical-technical support was as a rule accompanied by preconditions. The formulations of such preconditions seldom show regard for the interests and standards of the supported countries. It was here that these speakers saw the real cause of social injustice. As the liberal and the socialistic concept tend to transfer their own systems-thinking to those countries which are little structured and stabilized, the Third World participants demanded in particular that the basis of an education for peace and social justice had to be to permit people to find out their true identity, thereby strengthening national self-conscience as well. Without this, no social justice can exist in international relations. The interests of countries participating in international projects are justly taken into consideration onlv if the social analysis is done with self-imposed subject matters by all concerned parties themselves.

At this point, it seems feasible to draw some conclusions from the reported statements of the participants at Bad Nauheim, conclusions that should be regarded by a didactic emancipatory peace education: selecting the contents of a teaching program, it is recommended to start with the primary concern of the pupils, thus strengthening their articulating capacity by making them more aware. This can be done neither by psychological stories presented to the pupils from the outside nor by political blueprints of a peaceful society in the future. Rather, the primary concern of the pupils can only be derived from problems and issues directly connected with the pupils' lives. Learning progress is obtained if the problem can be solved not only theoretically but also practically. Such progress may form the basis for transfer achievements which then refer to problems of the secondary, less direct, level. By learning processes like this the primary level of pupils is extended to the secondary one. That corresponds to a growing consciousness of the impact of one's own decisions and actions - if the communicative component has been sufficiently taken into consideration. If in this way the tendency towards private and subjectivistic attitudes can be counteracted, at least a part of peace education is being practiced because pupils

- can realize their own interests in a problem;
- learn to articulate their own interests, goals, and subject matters and to compare them with those of other people;
- experience the theoretical solution and practical mastering of problems in groups.

When such results of the learning process have been obtained one would have managed to counteract political apathy and to strengthen the desire for participation. What the pupils' primary concern is can be found out only by analyzing conditions in the class, aiming at the determination of the pupils' concrete troubles, problems, and interests. These can then be used as items for a teaching program, and inductive learning processes can be carried out. However, as long as such analysis mainly aims at determining the pupils' knowledge and their learning capacity, it cannot render this information. Then the adequate access to the pupils' prime sector of interest will be highly dependent on chance, and the vertical division of labor will be perpetuated.

3. Working Groups at Bad Nauheim

In eight working groups, problems concerning the theory of science and political and didactical issues were discussed.

Dieter Senghaas chaired the first group, Basic concepts of peace research and peace education. Social scientists, pupils, students, social workers, and conscientious objectors performing alternative service (Ersatzdienstleistende) participated. The intention was to deal with the various theoretical concepts of peace education and how they could be realized. The discussions on the problem of theory and practice and on the relation of peace and violence were rather a stock-taking of the well-known implications.

In view of the complexity of the problems of peace education, the result revealed more or less resignation. Peace education was seen as dependent on the pupils' political socialization, so that participants admitted that peace education has but a limited chance of success since the society has first to be changed in order to realize peace education. In this context, many participants accepted the means of counterindoctrination despite reservations because all attempts to train pupils for critical thinking - and these are not to be undervalued - are carried out only on the cognitive level, without counteracting political apathy. This working group seemed to have regarded peace education mainly as a special kind of political tuition. Therefore adequate curricula have to be developed and then transmitted to the pupils.

The second group, dealing with the Problems of peace education, split up into two subgroups. Annette Kuhn coordinated the discussion of a concept of a historically oriented peace education on which her project group was currently working. The premises of this concept, based on the critical theory of the Frankfurt school, stimulated a discussion on the dialectics of tradition and development. This problem is often wrongly dealt with so that only either advantages of evolution and disadvantages of revolution are mentioned, or vice versa. Since representatives of these viewpoints - the liberal system orientation defined as value-free (Boulding, USA), scientific socialism (Hohendorf, DDR), and the critical orientation towards society - were participating, the discussions had a clear political background and resulted in a demarcation of the standpoints. In the second subgroup (Reardon, USA) on practice-oriented projects of peace education teachers already active in peace education were informed about projects now in a test phase, and about goals and methods of some research projects.

The third group (Nicklas and Lingelbach) dealt with the subject Special goals of peace education. It concentrated on didactical questions of what contents and goals should be selected for a learning process in connection with peace education.

Subgroup 1 prepared an inventory of possible goals and objects of a political peace education which could form part of a "realistic" peace policy. By way of illustration, some of the qualifications worked out by the Schörken commission as guide-lines for history and social training in Nordrhein-Westfalen were associated to these contents. The decision on the procedure was preceded by a discussion of the various aspects of peace education. Among other things, it was noted how dubious it is to construct curricula with goals defining the desired behavior given in advance. Such a view of the goals of the learning process and of curricula was seen as a contradiction to the demand for self-organization of autonomous learning groups; it should be a principle of peace education to establish such groups. In this connection, the participants paid attention to the problem of a legitimization of learning goals, discussed in the general context of the present school and education system and the structural violence it contains.

Subgroup 2 worked on specifically didactical issues of peace education.
The results of this group may be presented as seven theses (especially Lingelbach and Markert took an active hand in formulation):

Thesis I

Peace education will have to stimulate learning processes in which the relation is understood between structural, all-societal causes of non-peace and non-peace experienced directly, in different life situations (family, school, youth group, working place, etc.) and in which strategies can be developed to overcome the causes of these conflicts (structural violence).

Thesis II

In starting with non-peace, which is experienced directly in societal microstructures, one is obliged to use an organization in curriculum development in which the 'participants' will be acting as subjects, i.e. should participate in decisionmaking
The problem of finding learning objectives and legitimizing them and the problem of communication within the organization of curriculum development should not yet be seen as independent.

Thesis III

The deduction of learning objectives from general postulates of peace research (perspectives of structure, scenarios) has never been successful. It cannot yet be successful, because the conditions of didactical realization cannot be perceived in this way (conditions: the perception of concrete needs of the participants in a specific place and within a specific institution; the complexity of education as a field of learning and acting).

Thesis IV

In the process of finding and legitimizing learning objectives, three levels should be differentially perceived:

1) The level of decisions about political framework conditions and the general objectives corresponding with these framework conditions. In the FRG, this function is generally dealt with by groups appointed by the Ministries of Education and Public Welfare.

2) The level of the development of curricula or educational models, of the decision of concrete learning objectives which provide the possibility of structuring education. This function can only be dealt with by those affected by the framework directions (teachers, pupils, parents, teachers for adult education courses, leaders of youth groups, etc.) On the regional level, permitting one to perceive the specific socic-cultural conditions of learning. There exist various possible organizational forms on this level: school counseling centers (Holland), teacher centers, and also the 'Regionalen Pädagogischen Zentren' (regional pedagogical centers) proposed in the FRG.

3) The level of planning concrete learning units. This level can be dealt with by teams in the educational institutions, i.e. in a school, in institutions for adult education courses, in a kindergarten, or in a specific institution of the free youth organizations.

Thesis V

Apart from the reason for establishing regional-level institutions of curriculum construction mentioned in thesis II, these are necessary because

1) only they offer a high degree of participation;

2) only they hinder the perverting of curriculum blueprints in [illegible] course of their realization;

3) by means of them, didactical materials and media can be prepared that permit an individual teacher to design realizable tuition models in view of certain learning objectives.

Thesis VI

On this level, the work on curricula bases itself on guidelines prepared by guideline groups. But it always refers critically to this frame of guidelines and results in its continuous revision.
The following inputs are required:

1) data on institutional conditions for the curricula that are to be developed (school organization, media supply, financial limits, class-size, etc.);
2) general learning objectives, formulated on the first level;
3) theoretical concepts that give the reasons for these learning objectives and facilitate their interpretation;
4) suggestions for the selection of subjects and learning materials;
5) blueprints of didactical models of securing peace as outlined in thesis I.

Thesis VII

The theory required in thesis VI,3 should provide the reasoning relation between learning objectives and certain concepts of peace research. This requires cooperation of peace researchers and all groups involved in curriculum construction.

The fourth study group (Galtung) was formed under the heading Implementation Strategies. The aim was to develop appropriate strategies to transform the existing state of school and society into conditions with less structural violence. Adults have established stabilized behavioral patterns due to previous conflicts and learning processes. These patterns restrict the potential scope of actions, consequently restricting social fantasy, spontaneity, creativity, and the capability of social learning. But one has to strive for a scope of behavioral alternatives that is as broad as possible, for rich fantasy, and for flexibility. To see the problems and the resolutions of a conflict is equally important because the chosen methods easily become inadequate with regard to the aim, and thus structural violence is not successfully minimized.

Group members collected examples from their own realm of experiences to try to test new strategies suitable for peace education at school. These attempts were ordered according to the following fields of action:

1) activities connected with tuition,
2) strategies against structural violence connected with the school,

3) strategies at school that influence the community/society,

4) school and international relations.

Strategies transcending the system and aimed at reducting of superfluous dominance and structural violence must be planned with regard to the following aspects:

1) Assessment of the school in the social frame of reference.
This means the assessment of historical functions of schools and different interests connected to them. Investigation of the "economy of education" would probably reveal a close linkage between the school and state institutions on one hand, and the interests of private industry on the other hand.

2) Development of democratization goals.
The perspective of peace education must be formulated as part of the all-societal struggle. From that and from the determination of the preconditions of peace concrete aims for the coordinated transformation of school and society have to be developed.

3) Assessment of resistance and counterstrategies.
Peace education as part of a socialistic strategy (including enlightenment about and elimination of "peacelessness") is contradictory to the existing system, contradictory to the interests of those people who gain profits from war and its extensive preparation - i.e. those persons who look upon "peace" solely as an ideological pawn. The power of these forces and the power potentials against them have to be calculated exactly.

4) Development of a strategy of implementation following the principle of the "double strategy".
From (3) it follows that an implementation strategy must have two components: it must contain a) a mobilization strategy that exhausts the power potential, and (b) a reform strategy to broaden counter-positions. Only then can suitable instruments be developed that permit one to assess the value of models and actions. Only then meaningful differentiation of the various target groups can start.

5) Planning and developing suitable game- and teaching materials.
If the development of a just and peaceful society is understood as a long-term problem, mobilization for it must be seen not so much as a task of day-to-day policy, but as a political principle. Schools, teacher colleges, and other educational institutions have an essential function in preparation and participation.

The planning and development of didactical conceptions and materials is an absolute necessity.

Chairman of the fifth study group, Media, was G.G. Hiller. By taking this subject into consideration, a gap in teacher training was pointed out that has to be surmounted. Thousands of teachers leave the teachers colleges and universities without being acquainted with the instruments of the science of communication. They do not know what criteria are to be used for the analysis and evaluation of media: but these means of communication are increasing in importance in modern society. It follows that pupils must learn to distinguish between the intended contents and their transmission in the media. With regard to autonomous political actions, pupils have to learn how to present information, e.g. on pamphlets, bills, or on tapes, such that the reason for a specific action, its purpose, and the position in the social context become clear. Such clarity could in fact be termed a reduction of existing structural violence where media are produced and used for indoctrination and manipulation. If peace education shall enable pupils to think analytically, it implies the following points with regard to media:

- theoretically-analytically: to understand reality as transmitted by media and to point out the consequences of this transmission;
- practically-constructively: to be able to organize and transmit reality with the help of media not only at school in accordance with the intentions of peace education.

The aim of the sixth group Aggression (Horn/Lischke/Selg) was to discuss various psychological standpoints and to adapt them for the demands of peace education. The practicability of the various psychological models in explaining causes and possible ways of overcoming aggression was discussed with great care. The dialectical interrelation between individual and society was seen as not yet generally determinable. Hence follows the uncertainty as to which extent the individual can overcome forms of structural violence internalized during the socialization process, since society defends the ideological forms of conscience which appear objectively.

This relation is known but pedagogy has not yet been successful in developing strategies to change it adequately and successfully. Being equally cautious, the group talked about the possibilities of effective behavior modification by a successful adaptation to existing practice, discussing the danger of these techniques with their dehumanizing effects.

On the whole, it can be said that the positive aspect of this group lay in the reflection of heuristic models as well as of the well-known technologies in relation to peace education that, in demanding social justice, also argues for the autonomy of groups and individuals, the essential preconditions of which are Ego-identity and Ego-strength.

The subject of the seventh study group was Domestic dimensions of peace education , coordinated by Schmidt and Vilmar. The discussion had some similarities with the results of group IV. That follows from the four topics, each of which was seen as a domestic dimension of peace education:

1. peace education at school,
2. peace education and conflict resolution,
3. peace education and social structure,
4. peace education and social agencies.

Peace education was defined as "initiation of learning processes ... aiming at the actualization and rational resolution of conflicts regarding man as subject of action." This was operationalized with the problem "Housing - town planning in Frankfurt". The political process of citizens' initiative was reflected as a learning process. The idea was to show by example that peace education can only be successful if conflicts are solved actively and their causes are analyzed parallel to one another because then the alternation of analysis and action corresponds to an optimal proportion of theory and practice, thereby stimulating political awareness.

Working group 8 was engaged in the subject Third World . Dasgupta/Hausmann/Kothari/Meueler were in the chair cooperatively. The group started with the center-periphery-model, which can be used as an heuristic model for analyzing the Third World situation, as well as for transmitting it didactically. The advantage of this model is that it starts from the complexity of national and international social contexts and provides a filter for identifying and explaining superfluous dominance and structural violence. The group concluded that within established dominance structures there are no possibilities of transforming the insights gained into action. For this reason, one has to start by establishing counterstructures in social areas which are not yet institutionalized. Thereby, the objects of dominance could become the subjects of its abolition. For these goals alternative learning methods, e.g. those suggested by Paolo Freire, must be taken into consideration.

If this contribution about research perspectives and issues of peace, social justice, and education can result in the quest for more detailed information about the various subjects and problems and in impulses for teaching or the conception of learning processes, the aim of the conference has been achieved: to enhance the distribution of information and to get more people involved in questions of "education for peace and social justice", to forward impulses to enlarge the problem-horizon, and to draw attention to the general importance of peace education.

Translated from German by Ulrich Linnemann

UNTO VESA (Finland)

PEACE EDUCATION: GOALS, REALIZATION, RESULTS

Report of a Finnish Experiment

1. Introduction

In summer 1972, in Finland a peace research summer school was organized for the second time . Participants were mainly secondary school students (age 15-18), although the school was open to anybody interested. In 1971, the course had been arranged jointly by two peace organizations and the Finnish UN Association; in 1972, it was run by the Finnish Peace Research Association, the main function of which is to disseminate information about the work done in the field of peace research, about its basic approach and, especially, about its results , of course. Thus the idea of a peace research summer school was not to educate researchers, but to tell students of the problems, efforts, and achievements of peace research.

This summer school was only one of eighteen summer schools last summer. One of them specialized in communications media, one in community planning and environmental ecology, one in youth politics, etc. Most of them did not, however, specialize in anything but taught much the same things that are taught in ordinary 'winter' schools.

However, the idea behind this summer school system was, when it originated in the mid sixties, experimentation and innovation. The purpose was to create a viable alternative to the 'dead' school system, an alternative that after some experience could be incorporated to the ordinary school system. There were three aspects in this experiment, according to the 'ideologists' of the summer school system. First, old authoritarian teacher-student relationships should be broken and school democracy be introduced, where students and teachers can reach decisions on an egalitarian basis. It was also decided that the same structural change should take place also in teaching-learning, so that the vertical division of labor, where teachers speak and students listen, should be compensated by a more active and activating pattern. Second , the main themes of these schools should be from outside the ordinary curriculum stuff of the schools. And third , new methods - especially group work and discussions - should be applied.

I think that the peace research summer school was (and is) one of the most faithful to the original principles. In this article I try to clarify , first, what are the goals and principles adopted in Finland in peace education; second in what way these were materialized in the summer school (i.e. what where the courses, what were the subjects, what were the materials distributed, what was school democracy like, etc.); third what where the results; and fourth what is the significance of the summer school in the over-all strategy of implementation, what are the channels through which the experiences go to the ordinary schools.

2. The Principles and Goals of Peace Education

Summer school is only one expression of a general effort to arrange peace teaching; in the ordinary school system it is not yet established, but there are many guidelines and statements as to what it should be like when it is finally there. I quote here first some official reports, which show how the goals are seen in Finland. First, the goals can be classified in this way:

> As the concrete goal of the education for international understanding we could regard that of providing individuals with such information, skills and attitudes that make them able to post themselves up on international questions in a more thorough way. 1)

Further, a work group of the Ministry of Education has defined the goals, especially,what concerns the desired attitudes, in the following way:

> Education for international understanding aims at peace, at friendship between peoples, at consciousness of international responsibility and solidarity towards oppressed peoples and men, at the recognition of equality of men and of peoples, as well as at action to change the conditions impeding the fulfillment of these goals. 2)

Here are then the four goals (knowledge, abilities, attitudes, and action), which on this general level are widely accepted. Accepted by most is also the opinion that peace education should not be something separate in the curriculum, but rather be implemented within any subject on every level. As one author says, "international perspective is not a separate whole ..., but must become an integral part of one's whole personality." 3)

But in the same way as 'peace' is a consensual value as long as it is not specified, also in peace education the unanimity may end, when the goals are given a concrete content or when the didactic principles are specified in a detailed way. One Finnish expert group has done this and recommended that the following eight principles be strictly implemented in all teaching of social science in schools on every level:

1) the principle of internationalism; instead of using one's own country as the starting point things must be analyzed from a global perspective; world perspective implies critical comparative approach to the different systems;

2) the principle of analyzing history and change; it is necessary to show the present situation as the product of historical development as well as continuous change;

3) the principle of analyzing social conflicts;

4) the principle of analyzing the class structure and existing inequality of the society;

5) the ecological principle; relationship between man and nature; analysis of the social utilization of natural resources;

6) the principle of analyzing production and taking into account the importance of economic systems;

7) the principle of analyzing from the systematic viewpoint (and not as a sum of individuals or families, etc.);

8) the principle of promoting peace, expanding democracy, increasing social equality, justice and planning of the use of resources; the principle of opposing the power of monopolies and imperialism. 4)

These principles - though probably approved by most peace researchers - stand in contradiction to both tradition and present practice, which regards it as important e.g. to transfer the national values (of the dominant class) to the young generation, to give a harmonious view of the society, to convince that it is the individuals and families that matter, etc. Naturally, this contradiction with present practice means obstacles and opposition when efforts are made to implant new didactic principles. In peace education this effort is, however, not only worth doing, but even necessary. In the summer school this was done.

3. Realization

In 1972 the course lasted for two and half weeks. There were 23 Finnish and 4 American students, 6 teachers and 15 guest lecturers. The number of participants was less than expected: 30-40 would have been ideal. Especially the little panel interview project, described below, met with problems.

The decisions in the summer school were made in general meetings, where each person had one vote. Seven such meetings were held during the course, and they in fact made all the relevant decisions; many plans the teachers had formulated beforehand were either changed or dropped out of the program. It is self-evident that a large portion of the program was carried through as planned beforehand, because in this kind of short-time course it is necessary that the main lines be drawn up in advance. However, the opinions of the students were asked already before the beginning of the school. Thus general meetings (and thus students) could decide (1) on the weekly and daily programs and especially on what emphasis should be given to various subjects, (2) what guests should be invited to lecture on what subjects, (3) what materials should be used and bought, (4) how teaching should be organized (e.g. that each teacher had to prepare his lectures in a written form), (5) how jobs and duties should be distributed in the community (all routine jobs, editorial work for the school journal, chairman's and secretary's posts in the meetings, etc.).

The program of the summer school consisted of two school subjects (Finnish and English) and four main courses connected to the theme; also in Finnish and English the teaching was closely related to the theme. The four courses were:

- the fundamentals of peace research, 20 hours;
- psychological approach to the peace research, 11 hours;
- civilian defense, nonviolent methods of struggle, 4 hours;
- imperialism, underdevelopment, today's international conflicts, 18 hours.

The guest lecturers taught about international organization, the UN, environmental problems; communications media and violence; financial oligarchy of the world; alternatives of defense policy; Cuba, North Korea, China etc. There were a few lectures about other topics, like health policy, sex roles, alcohol legislation, and culture.

There was no coordination of the viewpoints of the teachers; some common features characterized them, however. One point was the emphasis on structural analysis. This is self-evident with lectures about imperialism, but in the same way the structural approach was stressed in the course on peace research both in the analysis of domestic and international system. The series about psychological approach, while looking at the behaviour of human beings, nevertheless tried to point out that the reasons for wars cannot be found on this level and that the 'theories' of Lorenz and others are both erroneous, misleading, and harmful to a correct understanding of wars. Besides this structural emphasis, attention was paid to the role of economic factors, too; this because most of the teachers were socialists of various shades. A third common characteristic was criticism of the existing state of affairs. Fourth, there were efforts to convince the students about the merits of activism, all kinds of social struggle not only against wars and violence, but against structural violence in all its manifestations, and to show that there is plenty of it in everyone's near surroundings as well. This was done in a conscious attempt to avoid the well-known reaction of passivity and alienation caused by the knowledge of the state of the world.

The course on the elements of peace research included sessions on how to analyze societies as well as basic facts about international politics; armaments and disarmament, structural underdevelopment, integration processes, etc. The course on imperialism, underdevelopment, and present conflicts included teaching about all the important tension points and wars of today: Indochina, South Africa, Middle East, Chile, military blocs, but also on positive changes e.g. the development of European security in the last few years.

There were also clear differences in the orientation of the courses; at least in one the tone was mainly pacifistic, in one marxist-leninist. This produced, of course, different attitudes towards violence, especially because the course on civilian defense was based on the ethics of nonviolence, while in the course on imperialism there was one lecture about marxist conception of a 'just war'. This was reflected in the second round of the panel interview, when some types of wars were seen as 'just' twice as often as on the first round (wars of liberation, the fight of the Vietnamese for their self-determination and freedom, etc.).

This much about lectures. The students received also a lot of written information: e.g., the security policy programs of all Finnish parties, journals and books published by the Finnish Committee of One Hundred, reports of various UN organs transmitted by the Finnish UN Association and materials donated by Tampere Peace Research Institute. The students had also a library of about 250-300 books at their disposal, most of the books dealing with some aspects of today's world. The purpose was to instruct students in the fruitful and critical use of various source materials.

Some films were also shown, and the school arranged two debates where some MP's of the Finnish Parliament discussed defense and foreign policy questions.

4. Results

To begin with, it can be said that most students were very satisfied with almost everything in the summer school: the atmosphere, the school democracy; warm relationships between all the participants; books, papers and materials distributed; the way teaching took place; content of the information given; later contacts; the experience they can use in the normal school, etc. This is quite important, but participant satisfaction cannot be the safe evaluation criterion. There were, however, also some complaints against the program - especially, that it was too tight and heavy, but also that a part of the teaching was one-sided. At any rate, it is the normal experience with the summer schools that the students are rather happy when they get shed the ordinary school routine, regardless of what the new setting is like. So success must also be evaluated against the goals and principles of the school.

For this purpose, a study was designed based on the normal experiment setting. The students of the peace research summer school constituted the test group, while the control group was another summer school going on at the same time, of roughly the same size, applying also the same principles of school democracy, but having no teaching on international politics. A panel interview was made for both groups, the first round at the beginning of the courses, the second by mailing the questionnaires after the courses were over. The design was thus that of usual experiment, one group being under influence, another free of it; therefore there should have been some systematic changes in peace research summer school students, but not in the control group.

As is well known, in real life it is impossible to reach the 'purity' of laboratory conditions. However, this experiment met with some other problems as well. First, both groups became much smaller than expected: 23 and 26. The students of the peace research school answered conscientiously; 21 returned the questionnaire on both rounds; in another group there were 20 such students. The groups being of this size, it became hard to make cross-tabulations, to test anything. Furthermore, this was made even more difficult by the fact that the distributions to the 'strategic' questions were extremely skewed.

Of about 130 questions in the interview, 25 were the 'peace strategy' questions used in the 'Youth in 2000'-project ('to obtain peace/ people must become more religious all over the world/ hunger and poverty must be abolished all over the world, etc.; see appendix). It was known beforehand that distributions in the general population are quite skewed 5), but it was not anticipated that the selection process would produce even sharper skewness in the summer school. But it did: most of the students were quite well informed about international politics, they were activists, socialists, etc., when they came, and this was reflected already on the first round of the interview: distribution in many questions was something like 95 - 5 - 0%. So there was not much room for changes to one direction as supposed in the hypotheses. Thus testing hypotheses became rather difficult and it does not make much sense to report of all aspects of the study. However, some interesting points are discussed and the hypotheses presented, because I feel they reflect our thinking as to what should come out as a result of peace education and because I hope other researchers could use these hypotheses later in a more successful way.

First, as comes to knowledge or to the cognitive aspect of the attitudes, it is clear that there occurred the expected change. The test group improved in the level of knowledge questions considerably, the control group not that much. This is, of course, as it must be. The course was also successful, I feel, in providing the students with various capabilities or skills, like meeting practices of editing work, critical use of source materials, knowledge of different sources of information and how to get to them; some referred to these experiences as the most useful ones.

Of the changes in the attitudes I report briefly on conception of school democracy and of peace conceptions.

The experience of democratic decisionmaking in the school had quite interesting results. When answering an open question, in both groups the students gave a positive evaluation about the success of democratic rule (even slightly more in the control group, where the atmosphere was 'anarchistic'; the role of individual was strongly emphasized, 'complete freedom' was the goal, etc.). But when there was a closed question, the results were as shown in Table I.

	Peace research school		Control group	
	I	II	I	II
fully disagree	5	0	20	5
moderately disagree	0	5	5	0
don't know	0	0	5	15
moderately agree	43	24	30	45
fully agree	52	71	40	35
	100% (21)	100% (21)	100% (20)	100% (20)

Table I. Distributions of the answers to the question 'Students should be given the same rights as the teachers have, when decisions are made about school matters'.

In both groups the experience had caused a shift towards trust in equal rights of the students and teachers, but in the peace research summer school this was much stronger. I think the explanation lies partly in the success of the practice adopted, partly in the fact that the essentials of democratic community were discussed and explained in many lectures.

The hypotheses about the effects of peace teaching on the conceptions of peace of the students were the following; these are based on the simple assumption that the approaches and values of the lectures cause changes to the same direction in the audience:

I Proposals suggesting structural changes in world society get more support (e.g. "to obtain peace, the colonial system must be abolished all over the world"). It did, but the original distribution already was 95-5-0%.

II (Corresponding to this,) strategies having the level of individuals as their starting point decrease in popularity (people must become more religious/ one has to start with the single individual and make him less agressive/ create peaceful relations in the family, at school and at work). This hypothesis got support, especially the item about starting from single individuals lost in popularity (religiousness got only slight support in the first interview, so there was not much room for decrease): in the control group these items gained more agreement on the second than on the first round.

III More emphasis is given to the economy: impossible to test because of distributions in the first interview. The idea of private economy all over the world as a peace proposal was rejected by 0-15-85 distribution; public ownership received support with 'votes' 70-15-15; and there were no changes in these. The only shift took place in the item about the mixture of private and public ownership as something promoting peace; some of those uncertain on the first time were positive to the idea on the second.

IV Support of 'visionary', utopistic strategies decreases (world language/ world government); it did to some degree, especially as to world language.

V_a Military solutions lose support (membership in military alliances/ keeping national armies/ strengthening peacekeeping forces). There was not much to be taken away from the original support of the first two; peace-keeping force lost support, but it did also in the control group.

V_b Disarmament proposals gain more support (dissolution of alliances/ general and complete disarmament). They did, especially the latter, though 80% had backed it already on the first round.

VI Strategies favoring national independence, right to self-determination, and socialism become more popular (free choice of governments/ complete stop to intervention in the internal affairs of other countries/ public ownership); no essential changes, due to the distributions at the beginning.

VII Proposals dealing with getting rid of structural violence get more support (to abolish the colonial system/ to abolish hunger and poverty/ more technical aid to developing countries/ the gap between rich and poor countries must disappear/ poor countries should unite). These strategies enjoyed 95-100% support from the beginning, so no 'improvement' was possible in this respect.

VIII Mobilization models get more support (small countries should unite/ poor countries should unite/ UN should be made more effective). The small country strategy got new supporters but lost some of the old ones; no essential changes.

IX Peaceful coexistence gets more support; isolation becomes less popular (increased trade, exchange and cooperation/ countries must be more similar to each other/ countries should have less to do with each other and become self-sufficient). Similarity and isolation became less popular - but in both groups; increased exchange did not gain new ground - this would have been a bit difficult from its original 95% figure.

As is clearly seen, the design of the study did not work as was supposed. In social science handbooks, it is sometimes suggested that scientists should report also on the unsuccessful experiments and not only on the successful parts of them. That is one reason, why I have told about the 'results' here; another is - as I said before - that I hope these hypotheses could be tested by someone in better conditions.

The preceding discussion was based on the agree-uncertain disagree-distributions. There was also a question in the interview about what the respondent regarded as the best peace strategy of the 25 mentioned. In the first interview the most favoured proposal were disarmament (5), public ownership (4), world government (3); on the second round disarmament received 9, public ownership 6, and world government no 'votes'. In the control group, the same proposals had these figures: disarmament 4 and 5, public ownership 2 and 2, and world government 1 and 2. This gives a bit more support to some of the hypotheses given above.

So although it was impossible to measure attitude changes, it is probable that, after the course, the students' world images were on a more solid ground than before, with attitudes and conceptions being now backed by new substantial information. This increased assuredness should also provide the basis for increased social action. As I mentioned, it was the purpose of the teachers to point out the significance of action and show ways through which one could channel his/her energies in a useful way. This was intentional, because there is a general feeling that youth has quite a pessimistic attitude towards the future of the world. That may be justified and realistic, but it may be not; and if it leads to apathy and alienation, it is harmful anyway. At least in the short run this was avoided in the peace research summer school, as is indicated by Table II. There is a change to positive direction in the appraisal of the situation, when measured with Cantril's 9-step scales. The points are the arithmetic means of the distributions.

Table II Answers to the questions. "Here is a ladder where the top (9) represents the best possible future for the world, and the bottom (1) the worst possible future for the world. Using this ladder, where do you think the world/ stood 5 years ago/ stands at the present/ will stand 5 years from now/ in year 2000".

		5 years ago	now	after 5 years	in year 2000
PEACE RESEARCH SCHOOL	I	4.4	3.9	4.0	2.9
	II	4.8	4.5	4.6	4.6
CONTROL GROUP	I	3.6	3.0	2.6	3.3
	II	3.7	3.1	3.4	3.6

On the basis of the study it is not possible to say anything about the behavioral component of attitudes, about *action*. However, I know that many of the students have become more active in their surroundings, in the schools, in solidarity movements, in anti-war movements. To give just one example of this: in autumn, there was a huge campaign in Finland to raise money for a childrens' hospital in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, near Hanoi. The students had one day off from school and they spent this day in doing some work and then gave the 'salary' to the campaign account. Most of the peace research students participated actively in organizing this campaign in their schools.A 'scientific ' conclusion cannot be drawn from this, because there is no comparable information from the control group; but that is not necessary either: if the peace research school educated even a few active peace fighters, it fulfilled its function. And both the students and teachers seem to think it did.

5. Significance

Summer schools are only an experiment. Their function is to give new inputs to the ordinary school system, to make possible innovation both in the structure and content of teaching. Thus, also, the peace research summer school is - though important as such - mainly significant in its role as one method of getting peace education into the schools.

What are the guarantees that it fulfills this role in the over-all strategy of implementation, that it does not remain only as an isolated phenomenon without any further effects? There are no 'guarantees', I think, but some channels through which the desired effect is supposed to flow. These are: (1) the students who participate in the summer school. As has been said, most of those attending summer courses are very active in their own schools; they act as the leaders in their own school organizations and are supposed to transfer their experiences to their own schools. (2) The student organizations (especially that of secondary school students, which has practically all the students of Finland as its members) are supporting those summer schools that are faithful to the original principles. The organizations use the experiences in their fight for school democracy and for the reform of the curriculum; these organizations have been quite influential in Finland in recent years, and they consider peace education as very important. (3) The report of the summer school is given to the school officials, many of whom are in favor of bringing these experiences to the use of the ordinary school. In this also the work done by the Finnish UN Association has been valuable: For many years the association has promoted education for international understanding by organizing seminars for the teachers etc., and it also acts in close cooperation with the Finnish peace researchers. And (4), the summer schools are given quite considerable publicity in the newspapers. Via these fora it is possible to inform the general public about the goals, methods, and results, in this way dispelling doubts and prejudices that always are met when something new is under way.

Notes

1. Anja Stenius, UNESCO kansainvälisyyskasvatuksen edistäjänä (UNESCO as a promoter of education for international understanding), in Kansainvälisyyskasvatus - mitä? miksi? miten? (Education for international understanding - what? why? how?)
ed. by Anja Stenius, Helsinki 1971, P. 6-7.
2. Kansainvälisyyskasvatus (Education for international understanding), Kouluhallitus (Central Board of Schools) 1972, P. 5.
3. Stenius, op.cit., P. 13.
4. Ensimmäisen ja toisen asteen koulujen yhteiskunnallisen opetuksen uudistamista pohtineen asiatuntijatoimikunnan muistio (Report of the expert commission to consider the innovation of teaching about society in primary and secondary level schools), Suomen Teiniliitto r.y. 1971.
5. See: Unto Vesa, Who Believes in Peace Research, and Tarmo Koskinen, Peace Philosophies of Ten Nations, in Future Prospects of the Youth. Reports of the Peace Research Materials "Images of the World in the Year 2000", ed. by Eino Hosia, Tampere 1970.

Appendix The peace strategy questions mentioned in the text are:

"To obtain peace people must become more religious all over the world"

"To obtain peace one has to start with the single individual everywhere and make him less aggressive"

"To obtain peace one must create more peaceful relations in the family, at school and at work"

"To obtain peace the colonial system must be abolished all over the world"

"To obtain peace hunger and poverty must be abolished all over the world"

"To obtain peace it must be possible for people freely to choose their governments all over the world"

"To obtain peace all countries must stop completely intervening in the internal affairs of other countries"

"To obtain peace countries must be (politically, economically, socially) more similar to each other than today"

"To obtain peace an economy based mainly on private ownership must be introduced all over the world"

"To obtain peace developed countries must give much more technical assistance and aid to developing countries than they do today"

"To obtain peace an economy based mainly on public ownership must be introduced all over the world"

"To obtain peace the gap between poor and rich countries must disappear"

"To obtain peace an economy based on a mixture of private and public ownership must be introduced all over the world"

"To obtain peace countries must be members of military alliances so that no country or group of countries dare attack others"

"To obtain peace we must have general and complete disarmament as soon as possible"

"To obtain peace countries must withdraw from military alliances"

"To obtain peace countries will have to keep national armies"

"To obtain peace countries should have less to do with each other and become self-sufficient"

"To obtain peace we must have increased trade, exchange and cooperation also between countries that are not on friendly terms"

"To obtain peace poor countries all over the world should unite to obtain a bigger share of the wealth of the world"

"To obtain peace small countries all over the world should unite to have more influence on the affairs of the world"

"To obtain peace we must improve the United Nations so as to make it more efficient than it is today"

"To obtain peace a world language that can be understood in all countries should be adopted all over the world"

"To obtain peace we must have a strong international peace-keeping force that can stop aggression from any country or group of countries"

"To obtain peace we must have a world state with disappearance of national borders and an efficient world government"

Answer alternatives in each question: agree/uncertain/disagree.

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SIMULATION, TEACHING, AND PEACE STUDIES

Introduction

Among the conceptual and methodological tools that have emerged in the last fifteen years to study international relations, simulation has generated considerable interest. Guetzkow defined simulation as "... an operating representation of central features of reality ..." (1959, p. 183) and more recently referred to simulation as "a theoretical construction ... of words, mathematical symbols, and surrogate or replicate components, all set in operation over time to represent the phenomena being studied." (1968, p. 203) For purposes of teaching simulations can be viewed as operating models that replicate, through student participation and boundary parameters, major features of past, present, or future social, political, and/or economic systems.

Simulations have been created in the social sciences for a multiplicity of purposes. Most basically simulation has been conceived of as potentially useful for teaching, research, and policymaking. (Coplin, 1968) In terms of theory construction simulation is viewed as a device that adds a rigor lacking in verbal theory and a flexibility not characteristic of mathematical models. (Guetzkow, 1968) More precise research purposes include the use of simulation for "increasing the coherence within and among models", for organizing empirical research to facilitate validation of theoretical assumptions, and for pre-testing policy alternatives and their outcomes. (Guetzkow, 1969)

Smoker (1970), in his thorough summary of international relations simulations, discusses some six purposes for which simulations have been used, including teaching. 1) Simulations are environments in which researchers can study the behavior of individuals and groups with reference to a multiplicity of variables: personality, cultural differences, crisis situations, information flows, coalition formation, ethnocentrism, internationalism, threat, negotiation, etc. 2) Simulations can be used to study particular historical events and precise kinds of political situations whether they be a replication of world war one, the Vietnam war, or an escalating arms race. 3) Simulation studies have considered some specific theoretical or functional aspect of the international system in depth involving such theoretical concerns as alliance formation, decisionmaking processes, or deterrence. The emphasis is upon building "islands of theory". 4) This leads to the use of the systemic simulate structure to integrate and evaluate the "islands" or "modules" in the total international interactive process. 5) Finally, simulation can be used to evaluate policy formation. The policy function of simulation can not only aid in the discovery of optimal policies in given situations but can more importantly be used as a device to generate models of desirable alternative futures. It is conceivable that simulate behavior could lead to outcomes at variance from "reality". The simulate alternative could stimulate activists to change "reality" to fit the simulate world. (Smoker, 1969)

Table One illustrates specific simulation research projects and the broad range of peace studies problems that have been examined by social scientists. By implication, the table suggests that the varied problems that students of peace studies confront may be fruitfully examined through the use of simulation. For purposes of this paper one argument is that the research and policy uses of international relations simulations are not antithetical to educational uses of simulation. In fact, the studies of individual and group behavior, particular historical events, micro and macro theoretical problems, and alternative futures are critical to the use of simulation for peace education.

International Relations Simulations

Although a considerable number of simulations have been created or adapted over the years, the five simulations Smoker (1970) describes are perhaps the most prominent examples from the standpoint of both international relations research and teaching. Along with The Technological, Economic, Military, Political Evaluation Routine (TEMPER), The Inter-Nation Simulation (INS), The World Politics Simulation (WPS), The International Processes Simulation (IPS), The Rand/M.I.T. Political Military Exercise (PME), brief mention will be made also of The State System Exercise (SSE) because of its specific undergraduate classroom purpose and its relative simplicity in terms of classroom use as compared to the others.

The TEMPER simulation was created with the support of the US Department of Defence. It attempts through computer simulation to integrate global military, political, and economic interactions for purposes of policy analysis and theory construction. It reflects a "theory of cold and limited war conflict". (Abt and Gorden) The model consists of 39 nation groups (either individual nations or several nations together), 20 conflict regions (to reflect geographic considerations) and a world that is rigidly divided between blocs of western, eastern, and neutral nations. The approximately 160 variables are organized around for subroutines; the psychological, the economic, war, and decisionmaking. Of

TABLE ONE: Some Research Uses of International Relations Simulations

Substantive Problem	Method	Researcher
Disarmament negotiations	All-man negotiation simulation	Bonham
Spread of nuclear weapons	Inter-Nation Simulation	Brody
Alliances and coalitions	Inter-Nation Simulation	Burgess, Robinson
International system	World Politics Simulation	Coplin
Decisionmaking, stress, personality	Inter-Nation Simulation	Driver
Ethnocentrism	Inter-Nation Simulation	Druckman
International system	Inter-Nation Simulation	Guetzkow, assoc.
Outbreak of world war one	Inter-Nation Simulation	Hermann, Hermann
Stress and self-esteem	Inter-Nation Simulation	Hermann, M.
Vietnam	Vietnam Simulation	Macrae, Smoker
Deterrence	Inter-Nation Simulation	Raser, Crow
Crisis decisionmaking	Inter-Nation Simulation Political Diplomatic Game	Robinson, Hermann, Hermann
Threat, hostility, crisis	Inter-Nation Simulation	Schwartz
International system	International Processes Simulation	Smoker
Complex decisionmaking and personality	Tactical and Negotiation Game	Streufert
Conflict and peace processes	Princeton Inter-Nation Game	Terhune, Firestone

these 160 variables 90 are immediately concerned with military factors.

Since the model excludes domestic pressures, inter-bloc trade, transnational affiliations, and maximizes the military and conflictful nature of the international system, Smoker (1970) has argued that TEMPER is grossly inaccurate for both research and teaching. After discussing the apparent lack of validity of several subroutine features of TEMPER, Smoker suggests that "those who use a simulation of international relations over a number of years as part of an educational experience for some hundreds of military officers are under obligation to present evidence as to the validity of the model and the resulting image of international relations it incorporates." (1970, P. 23)

The INS was created by Harold Guetzkow and his associates at Northwestern University (1963) and has been the most often utilized model for research and teaching purposes. It is a man-machine simulation using programmed features to simulate variables including domestic support for key decisionmakers (validator satisfaction), the flexibility of decisionmakers in policy formation (decision latitude), and the transference of political power (probability of office-holding). Several roles are represented in each simulate nation by participants: heads of state, foreign policy advisors, domestic advisors, military advisors, and opposition leaders. Each period the key decisionmakers allocate basic capability units for purposes of domestic consumption, the maintenance of requisite national security, and for long-term economic growth. After the making of these critical decisions nations interact through messages, conferences, trade, the world press, and through any international organization that has been created by the nations or the simulation director at the outset of the simulation. The context of interaction is created by varied initial distributions of basic capabilities and written national histories.

INS has been subjected to 24 systematic validity studies comparing aspects of the simulate world to the referent system ("real world"). Of some 55 comparisons Guetzkow found at least "some" correspondence between simulate and world features in 38 instances. (1968) Modelski independently found 30 such correspondences out of 55 possibilities. (1970) However, he contends that four basic INS assumptions are subject to reservations: INS assumes that nations are the basic units for analysis, that nations are self-sufficient, that validator satisfaction is solely a function of domestic support, and that central decisionmakers have singular control of national capabilities and resources. He suggests revisions that incorporate non-national world actors, the interdependence of nations, broader sources of validator satisfaction, and greater group constraints on central decisionmaking.

With the Modelski critique of INS in mind, Smoker created the International Processes Simulation (IPS). IPS is a man-machine simulation and like INS has human decisionmakers. The differences involve the complexity of the model, particularly in its systemic properties. IPS simulates international governmental organizations, international non-governmental organizations, multi-national corporations, nations, and national corporations. Role players include several non-governmental decisionmakers. Other additions include world opinion, public opinion, and political effectiveness.

Smoker (1970) reports that several validity studies reflect a closer IPS fit with historical referents than INS but that its emphasis upon more precise systemic properties may be unduly at the expense of the domestic processes. Therefore care should be used in the use of IPS for teaching. Further Smoker suggests that IPS, as with other simulations, fails to add structures relating ecological and technological environments to the more prominent political and economic variables. Also simulations have not adequately reckoned with the problem of time and how much social or clock time is really being simulated.

Whereas IPS emphasizes a multifaceted international system, the World Politics Simulation (WPS) is a man-computer simulation that heightens the complexity of domestic processes. (Coplin, 1969; Smoker, 1970). WPS can accomodate up to nine nations and each consists of economic, demographic, and political submodels. The political organization of the nation contains a multiplicity of policy influencers exerting pressure on decisionmakers. Since no validity studies have been carried out on WPS, Smoker suggests caution in its use for educational purposes, particularly as domestic politics dwarfs limited international dimensions of the simulation.

The Rand/M.I.T. Political Military Exercise (PME) is an all-man simulation that is composed of several nation teams, each reflecting a critical decisionmaking unit within a nation (the National Security Council, for example) and a control team that monitors national decisionmaking and international interaction. (Bloomfield and Padelford; Bloomfield and Whaley) The control team verifies the legitimacy of national moves and induces crises, threat,erroneous information, and other variations as the experimental situation dictates. The control team also acts as nation teams and international organizations not represented by players. All nation moves must be written down on standard message forms. The exercise begins with a scenario, then nations define their strategies and goals and movements are made through the control team. The basic datum of the exercise include the message forms, team reports, a record of the post-game critique session, and a follow-up questionnaire of participants.

Summing up the potential educational value of PME, Bloomfield and Whaley say that:

> ... the only sure value of the political-military exercise may be the not inconsiderable one of providing not only students but also policymakers and scholars with one or more crucial lessons not learned before, indelibly recorded in an important personal experience. (p. 661)

Smoker, on the other hand, argues that judgment on teaching and research uses of PME should await systematic validity studies. The control teams, for example, may be imposing their correct or incorrect theories of international politics on the participants. The "important personal experience" may in fact do more harm than good.

Coplin's (1970) The State System Exercise (SSE) is designed for easy and inexpensive use in the college classroom. SSE is run in three cycles representing the classical balance of power system of eighteenth century Europe, the state system from 1890 to 1914, and the post-war international system. Highlighted variables include alliance flexibility, the distribution of power, the role of territory, costs and gains of war, and the effect of nuclear weapons. An underlying assumption of national behavior in all three cycles is the "desire to survive and to increase power". Through the assignment of roles, the distribution of "power units" and the interaction among nations students simulate each cycle.

The Impact of the Inter-Nation Simulation on Pre-College and College Education

This section will summarize findings from four impact studies on primary, secondary, and university uses of adaptations of the Inter-Nation Simulation. If simulation for teaching is to be taken seriously an effort must be made to evaluate the relative utility of it in different school settings. Further, peace education ought not be restricted to the university particularly since socialization studies point to major substantive political values and beliefs acquired well before a student reaches the university. (Cooper, Alvik, Targ, 1970)

Targ (1972) adapted the INS for use by fourth, fifth, and sixth grade elementary school children (ages nine to twelve). The Elementary School Version of the Inter-Nation Simulation (1967) involves nation teams of from three to five players interacting in a non-structured international system. Heads of state, foreign secretaries, and citizens populate each nation. The decisionmakers allocate monetary units for domestic consumption, military preparedness, and saving for economic development at the outset of each period. From that point students interact through messages and conferences, war, trade, and the building of international institutions. Citizens vote each period to retain or dethrone the Head of State and Foreign Secretary. National capabilities for each period (periods run about one hour) are determined by the percentage of investment in the prior period.

In evaluating simulation impact, students were given pre and post-test questionnaires designed to tap beliefs (factual knowledge), evaluations (standards of value to given objects), expectations (predictions of future events), and action preferences (foreign policy prescriptions) about foreign policy making and international politics. The control groups in each grade had no alternative instruction so that findings relate to simulate impact and not comparative impacts of varying teaching strategies.

Targ reported several findings. First, the elementary school simulation seemed to have impact only on participants beliefs. Children increasingly saw nations as more important and strong after simulate participation. The simulation affected children's definitions of economic development, the role of industries for national greatness, the role and functions of the foreign secretary,and the meaning and significance of domestic consumption. In the international realm the situation effected children's beliefs about the United Nations, the potential aggressiveness of alliances, international trade, and the mechanisms of international communications.

Second, children registered more change in beliefs concerning domestic politics and foreign policymaking than international interaction. The domestic features of the simulation were more structured in that specified decisions were required and simulate roles were described in the student manual. Targ suggests that the unstructured international interactions depended more upon the participants level of awareness whereas the domestic features were predetermined by the exercise structure.

Finally, Targ's data indicated that simulation impact was greatest among the youngest children (the fourth grade). Belief scores about national policymaking and international interaction changed at least three times more among the fourth graders than among fifth and sixth graders. Therefore those children who came to the simulation with the least information changed the most.

Cherryholmes (1965) utilized the INS as a six-week portion of an American government course for high school seniors. Students reported that participation was interesting, meaningful, and useful as an aid to understanding international affairs. In a pre- and post-test questionnaire design Cherryholmes found that students increasingly valued a decisionmaking process that was more centralized after simulate participation. They also recognized the complexity of decisionmaking.

Students described their simulate world as governed by hostile, conflictful, national sovereign units. It was a world of nations relying on alliances, arms, and the propensity for escalating conflict. Cherryholmes likens these perceptions of the simulate world to the real world. He sought to examine further the impact of the simulation as to the development of "realistic" images of the world as opposed to "idealism". In response to four specific questions Cherryholmes found a marked movement in the "realist" direction after participation:

1) Rejection of the premise that the United States should do what is "right" irrespective of other allies;

2) Rejection of the argument that alliances are a hindrance to the United States;

3) Rejection of the premise that democratic nations should always follow democratic principles in the substance and determination of foreign policy;

4) Acceptance of the argument that the United States should form alliances with dictators if it would help stop communism.

In conclusion, Cherryholmes argues that simulation is not the solution to international relations instruction and must be integrated with other substantive and methodological components. "However, simulation does arouse keen student interest and apparently tends to produce a pragmatic set of attitudes toward international relations." (Cherryholmes, 1965, p. 231)

More recently, Lee and O'Leary (1971) studied INS impact on developing "awareness and insights" and "competencies" among high school students. Students were exposed to a three-day INS exercise and extensive post-game discussion. The post-test questionnaire was distributed one month later to simulation and control groups (exposed to other government and international relations materials). Data analysis indicated that students found the simulation to be interesting and involving. Students felt that simulation was superior to other teaching techniques in showing "what people are like under pressure", "what it is like to work in an organization", and "what it is like to be in a position of responsibility". Students developed a greater tolerance for ambiguity after simulate participation and indicated a greater confidence in handling decisionmaking roles analogous to INS roles after simulate participation. However, across all the simulate participants, no significant attitude or belief changes in reference to international relations was found.

When students were compared as to the level of trust in people they maintained, it was found that "idealistic" students with high trust became less hopeful about peaceful solutions to the world's problems. Those who were low on trust in people developed a greater sensitivity to the complexities and pressures of decisionmaking, increasingly favored closed as opposed to open diplomacy, became more optimistic that people could influence public affairs, and became more interested in social studies. The authors report:

> ... the lows went through a rather profound growth experience -- they achieved greater maturity in their understanding of international affairs; they developed a realistic empathy for decision makers, they became more optimistic about the ability of people to change the larger world about them, they became more tolerant of ambiguity and uncertainties, and they came away from the game with a broader pattern of interests and concerns. (Lee and O'Leary, 1971, p. 339)

The high scores on trust were not effected positively. They became disillusioned, less efficacious, more pessimistic, and sought more open diplomacy. The authors suggest that high trust participants find their world-view threatened in the simulation and hence do not concentrate on the multiple facets of the simulate experience.

The general reaction of Lee and O'Leary about the use of simulation for social studies is fourfold: given the proper circumstances simulations may have significant impact on students, learning through simulation can be enjoyable, simulation can stimulate and bring to the surface significant emotional forces, and simulations can aid researchers to discover how, what, and among whom does learning take place.

The last significant impact study compared teaching with INS and teaching with case study materials in three undergraduate political sciences courses. (Robinson 1966) Students in each of these classes were exposed to two lectures per week and either a three hour lab that simulated or analyzed compiled case studies. Students were allocated to the simulation or case group on the basis of scores in an aptitude test, grade-point average, tests of motivations for achievement, affiliation, and power, and cognitive style (complexity versus concreteness). These variables were used to further distinguish the comparative impact of simulation and case study methods on student interest and factual learning. The most important findings included the following:

1) No differences in perceived interest in simulation or case studies.

2) Significant simulation behavicral measures of interest including attendance, promptness, staying after class.

3) Significantly more simulation classroom participation than case study participation.

4) 12 of 23 categories of simulation participants respond favorably to simulation in an open-ended question.

5) No case-simulation differences on factual mastery or learning of principles.

Concluding their discussion of the role of simulation in teaching international relations the authors point out that the method generally did not effect learning more profoundly than the case method nor was simulation perceived as more interesting. Several behavioral measures did show, however, simulation preference to cases. Some specific small learning effects were noted among some subsets of students where specific personality and interest intervening variables were considered. The authors suggest that even small impacts among selected subsets of the student population may be indicators of the need for further testing as the "treatments" were relatively brief and only for a nine week academic quarter.

Some Conclusions on Simulation, Teaching, and Peace Studies

Each of the sections above alludes to a rather large literature that bears relationship to teaching and peace studies First, the large simulation research literature indicates the multiplicity of possible simulations that can be adapted for teaching. Also it indicates the possibility of constructing new simulations to research and teach new problems. Simulations can be adapted to elementary school, high school, or college use and can lead to the study of individual and group behavior, historical events, "islands of theory", "grand theory", the efficacy of given foreign policies, conflict reducing strategies (Graduated Reduction in Tension, peacekeeping, disarmament, transnational participation, revolutionary change, etc.), and alternative futures. The teacher can go to the research literature, replicate experiments, and compare the classroom runs with the researchers results. The teacher can construct his/her own simulation to study problems not yet simulated.

Ongoing simulations or new ones can be adapted to teach and evaluate major peace studies concepts. Students can experience and analyze the impact of personal versus structural violence. (Galtung, 1969) Students can test the interpersonal, intergroup, and international validity of the theory of rank disequilibrium (Galtung, 1964) by constructing small group, domestic, and international relations simulations and comparing the behavioral outcomes of each run. Students and teachers can evaluate strategies of non-violence in various settings and contexts. Simulations of alternative conceptions of world order can be constructed testing the utility of power balances, law, centralized versus decentralized authority in the international system, transnational participation, regionalism, and utopian communities in reference to peace values such as an end to violence, the redistribution of wealth, participatory politics, ecological preservation, etc.

An examination of the major international relations simulations illustrates what kinds of roles, processes, unit capabilities, and interactions can be simulated. It further points to some cautionary notes. First, the simulation is an implicit or explicit model of some referent universe. By structuring the relationship of variables in various ways and by including some features of reality and excluding others, the simulation is constructing the dimensions of student experience. Teachers should be aware of the kind of international system or parts thereof they are creating. Modelski is correct, for example, in suggesting that INS is a nation-state system that may misrepresent non-governmental interactions. Similarly, if INS or others seem to create attitudes of "political realism" and man's aggressiveness or a bipolar perception of the world it may be that simulate parameters are not keeping pace with the latest insights in international relations and peace research.

All of this ultimately relates to the validity problem. INS and IPS have been subjected to comparisons with the referent system. They have conformed in one-half to two-thirds of the instances compared. Students may simulate, then seek through a multiplicity of techniques to validate their own runs. This would suggest that students and teachers may take three approaches to validity: 1) try to make the simulation fit "reality", 2) analyze as an element of the course simulate-real world differences, and 3) evaluate the utility of the simulate outcomes that do not fit the real world as to their possible superiority to real world outcomes.

Impact studies have sought to assess several substantive simulations as to attitude, value, learning, motivation, and behavioral change. Findings reported here as well as impact studies of other simulations have not led to consistent positive or negative assessments of simulation utility for teaching. In brief, the teaching value of simulation instruction is still an open question. Therefore, several suggestions for future analysis seem to follow from reported simulation teaching experiences.

Simulations should be tested through various designs including intensive simulation work over several days, or semester, or year-long exercises. Simulations can be tested against case studies, "traditional" methods, or with various combinations of other methods. Simulations with different problem foci may have varying effects. Simulations to study the individual decisionmaker or the specific historic period may be more or less effective than a general systemic model.

Simulations with much structure and programmed behavior should be compared with open-ended simulations. Perhaps some combination of structured and unstructured back-to-back runs may have the optimal impact. Simulation impact studies should be open to the possibility that optimum impact is found at certain age, grade, or competency levels. It may be that simulation for peace studies is best used among elementary or secondary or college students. Further teachers may find greater change in factual mastery than attitudes and behaviors or vice versa. They probably should assume that profound value change cannot be expected in simulational experiences alone.

The use of simulation might optimally be used in conjunction with other methods. Data generated from the simulation can be analyzed historically, quantitatively, and qualitatively testing theories of conflict, integration, peacekeeping, etc. Also the introduction of simulation at optimal times throughout the semester might increase its impact. Teachers can introduce the peace studies course, discuss major theories, simulate, analyze simulate data, simulate again, and synthesize course materials. Finally, as Cherryholmes (1966) and others have proposed greater impact may derive from student construction of their own simulations. Student corrections may create optimal student involvement in theory and practice.

In summary, the simulation literature leads one to recommend continued experimentation for teaching purposes. Findings are mixed as to impact and validity. Perhaps an interested skepticism should dominate the peace education community, a position somewhere between unfounded exuberance and total cynicism.

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JOSZÉF HALÁSZ (Hungary)

SOME THOUGHTS ON PEACE RESEARCH AND PEACE EDUCATION

In the field of peace research and peace education it is the generation that experienced the Second World War that must show a great sense of responsiblity. They can remember the horrors of destruction, and for this reason it is up to them to do all they can to avoid another world war. With the new, highly developed armament systems a war can mean the annihilation not only of part but of the whole of mankind and its cultural values. This is why peace research workers and peace education must help young people to recognize the causes and the devasting consequences of war, to develop a realistic outlook suited to life in a time of peace and to determine what tasks must be carried out as a necessary precondition for this kind of life. Besides this, it is important to ensure that adults remain aware of their responsibility for keeping peace. Only if these two tasks can be carried out, it will be possible to guarantee peace.

We are of the opinion that it is extremely important to gather peace research workers and peace educators from all over the world to discuss further possibilities for peace research and education. This is all the more essential as research into the conditions necessary for peace cannot be done within the confines of one country. Peace research and peace education require widespread cooperation. Congresses and conferences like the congress in Bad Nauheim on "Education for Peace and Social Justice" provide the necessary surroundings for discussion on practical experiences made in this field, possibly encouraging one to regard one's own methods and conduct critically.

As many young people's confrontation with the problems of war is at present frequently limited to dealing with the Second World War in school history lessons, it is vitally important for peace research and peace education to increase its role. This is all the more important as there are young people everywhere who take life under conditions of comparative peace for granted. It is vital to make them realize that the guaranteeing or bringing about of peace is one of our most urgent tasks. In order to do this we must show them the social conditions that lead to war and help them to identify those people and groups of people who are not interested in the coming about of peace. At the same time they need to be informed of the numerous activities and efforts of many countries in support of peace policies and activities. The active and progressive supporters of peace must cooperate

to be able to reveal and fight the regressive and aggressive forces.
The best example of this type of cooperation is the worldwide movement in support of the people of Vietnam, which has had its successes. The very fact that young people in Hungary have shown their solidarity with the people of Vietnam in rallies, voluntary extra work and a number of other activities and have expressed their aversion of the American agressors indicates that our country's long policy of peace included educating people to peace and that this education was successful.

Up to this point we have talked about peace education as a type of education which attempts to make young people aware of the dangers of war and of the possibilities of finding a peaceful solution to conflicts so as to create a peaceful world. Peace education aimed to reach people of all age groups has, however, to be far more comprehensive. It needs to include, for instance, (a healthy kind of) patriotism, internationalism, and the possiblity of peaceful coexistence and collective development. It must aim at gaining recognition for international law and the UN charter, and at seeing that these are observed. It should deal with such problems as nationalism, racism and the armament race. When discussing the problem of the armament race, one must not forget to mention that some capitalist groups and some states make considerable profits in various local wars.

Peace research and peace education must show that in order to achieve a state of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems certain preconditions must be fulfilled. It must be made clear that, since the creation of the socialist system five decades ago, and in particular during the last ten years, the successful struggle to realize a state of peaceful coexistence has been at the forefront of history.

Hungarian and international experience suggest that peace research and peace education must be carried out in close cooperation with those forces and organizations which fight against war and for peace. For in the past the joint efforts of progressive groups and organizations have frequently led to the end of violence and local wars. This is where, as already mentioned, educating people to patriotism and internationalism has an important role to play. This must not, however, be confused with educating people to nationalism, the terrible effects of which both for one's own and for other countries can be illustrated by numerous examples. Young people must also be made aware by peace education that a decisive factor in judging other people and other nations is whether they support peace, justice and progress. How important this work is is shown by the following depressing facts.

In 1969 the amount spent on armament by 120 countries came to more than 200 billion dollars. From 1962 to 1969 the amount spent by these countries rose by 7%. At the same time the GNP only rose by 3%. That means the increase in armament expenditure could only be achieved by a lowering of the standard of living. When one compares the amount spent on investments in armaments, education and health services the picture is as follows. Military expenditure increased by 1%, expenditure on education by only o.66% and on health services by o.33%. These figures contrast sadly with the fact that there are still over 100 million people in the world who are illiterate because the financial situation does not enable them to attend more than a few years primary school at the most. Besides this, the health services in many countries are in a terrible state. This is not always because the quality of the services is poor but frequently because the costs are so high that many people can only afford them by making enormous sacrifices elsewhere,if even then. This situation is all the more reprehensible when one considers that, due to rapid technical and scientific developments, armament systems become obsolete every 8 to 10 years and have to be replaced by the aid of fresh investments.

Peace education must also deal critically with the fact that, in many countries all over the world, young people are forced to do military service. In the 1960s 22 million people from the above mentioned 120 countries were in the military forces. In addition, 33 million were in jobs in some way connected with the forces. For, to be able to maintain 100 soldiers in a state of alert, a work force of another 150 men is required. According to this calculation 50 million people were working for the military services in the 1960s. It is worth considering what it would have meant if these 55 million people had been engaged in developing the economic, social and cultural situation. If they had been engaged in productive work they would have manufactured goods to the value of 2,000 dollars p.a.; in other words, with 55 million people this would have amounted to 110 billion dollars. If this amount were spent on solving the complex problems in the field of education, health and social services, rapid progress could be made.

Our experience has shown that peace research and peace education can only produce results if they are supported by the governments and laws of the countries concerned. In the case of the People's Republic of Hungary there are laws which provide the basis for active peace research and education. They include the following passages: "On the strength of a socialist ideology and socialist ethics our schools must bring up true patriots, reliable and law abiding citizens who love their native country and their people and devotedly serve the cause of socialism, peace and the brotherhood of men." (1961 Education Act). "The People's Republic of Hungary ranks amongst those countries which strive to attain peace and so-

cial progress. Our nation strives for complete and general disarmament so that neither the lives of this or the following generation will be threatened by means of mass destruction. It strives for the liberty of all peoples and the national independence of all countries." (1965 Act).
"Anyone inciting people to war or making propaganda for war is to receive a term of imprisonment of 3 to 8 years." (From an ordinance on war propaganda)
"In the People's Republic of Hungary it is the duty of all young people to learn diligently, to work industriously and to live honestly. They are to defend their native country and to serve the cause of social progress and peace." (From the fifth Act on the position and role of young people, 1971)

It becomes evident from the above passages how important it can be for peace researchers and peace educators all over the world to be supported in their work by laws and ordinances. Thus, peace-loving people should aim at cooperating to ensure the state, or rather the appropriate bodies, passes laws supporting and facilitating the work of peace research workers and peace educators.

To close, I should like to allude to the fact that, in the near future, the European Security Conference will provide a number of new tasks for peace research and peace education which will need to be discussed by peace research workers and peace educators.

Translated into English by C.Kuebart

HORACIO H. GODOY (Chile)

RESEARCH AND TEACHING ON PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN LATIN AMERICA x)

1. Introduction

This report is based upon the available data in the Latin American School of Political Science and Public Administration and in few interviews with specialists in the field of international relations and international law. 1)

The report is the result of the study of 19 programmes of courses in public international law corresponding to an equal number of institutes of law schools, schools of political science or specialized institutes.

The programmes of international law courses studied in this report are taught in the following countries: Argentina (4), Brazil (3), Bolivia (1), Chile (2), Ecuador (2), El Salvador (1), Mexico (2), Panama (1), Paraguay (1), and Venezuela (2).

Special mention is made to the development of modern peace research studies in the Latin American School of Political Science and Public Administration of FLACSO, particularly in connexion with peace theory and research and theory of conflict, the study of the future and the world power process.

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x) Paper delivered at the UNESCO International Expert Meeting on University Teaching and Research on Problems of Peace and Conflict Resolution, Manila, Philippines, 29 November - 3 December 1971

1) See: Instituto Interamericano de estudios juridicos internacionales: Material de referencia sobre la enseñanza del derecho internacional y materias afines en Latinoamerica y Canada. (Publication provisional) Washington D.C. 1964; Round Table of Western Hemisphere International Law Scholars. Final Report. San José, Costa Rica, March 1963; Union Panamericana: La enseñanza universitaria de las ciencias sociales: las relaciones internacionales. Estudios y monografia. I. Organización de los Estados Americanos. Washington, D.C. 1961. Edwards, Richard W.: International Legal Studies: A survey of teaching in American Law Schools 1963-1964. The American Society of International Law. 1965.

Finally, the report takes account of external factors which can be considered conducive to the development of a programme of teaching a research on problems of peace and conflict resolution.

2. The University Curricula Related to Peace Research and Conflict Resolution in Latin America

The main conclusions that can be drafted from the analysis of the available documentation on the topics of peace research and conflict resolution in Latin America are the following ones:

2.1 The study of peace and conflict generally appears as a theme of the legal studies, and exceptionally in the field of political science.

2.2 Within this broad field of legal studies, peace and conflict are studied in the discipline of public international law.

2.3 As a consequence of 1 and 2, the orientation of peace studies and conflicts is (a) legalistic, (b) international, (c) follows the old international law studies tradition and (d) consequently, there is no concern with modern theory of peace and conflict.

2.4 Within the legal orientation of the studies, the pacific settlement of disputes starts with the analysis of the different means adopted: negotiations, good offices, mediation, inquiry, conciliation, arbitration and judicial settlement.

2.5 The distinction between the international law of war and the international law of peace is unanimously accepted.

2.6 All programmes emphasize the contribution of Latin America to the development of fundamental principles of international law related to pacific means of conflict solving. Two examples: the Calvo doctrine and the Drago doctrine. The first one, against the right of foreignors to claim diplomatic protection of their private interest and the obligation to resort to local remedies (1896); and the second one, against the use of armed force in the collection of public debts. (1902) (The Venezuela case.)

2.7 All programmes refer to the purposes and principles of the Inter-American system as stated in the Organization of American States Charter (1948), in the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance (1947), in the Pact of Bogota (1948), and in the Inter-American Peace Committee (1950).

The OAS charter's purposes related to peace and conflict are: peace, security, the pacific settlement of disputes.

The principles are stated in a different chapter, and they reaffirm various fundamental rules set forth in previous inter-American resolutions and declarations: international law in the standard of conduct of States in their reciprocal relations; the fulfilment of treaty obligations; the rule of good faith; the condemnation of act aggression; and the principle of collective security, meaning that an act of aggression against one American State is an act of aggression against all the other American States.

3. The Latin American School of Political Science and Public Administration Activities Related to Peace Research and Conflict Resolution

The Latin American School of Political Science and Public Administration has been concerned with the problems of peace research and conflict resolution since its foundation in 1966. The seminars offered in international relations include topics of peace theory and conflict theory. In 1968-1969, Professor William Lewers, from the University of Notre Dame, taught a special seminar on World Politics and World Order, and since then, Professor Horacio Godoy took the responsibility of teaching a seminar on World Politic and World Order. The visit of professors, like Harold D. Lasswell, introducing the techniques of decision seminars, and others are indicators of the interest of the school in the subject.

In 1972, the school will be ready to offer a programme of courses leading to the master degree in political science with mention in international relations. Peace and conflict theory jointly with a series of complementary courses will lead to the first systematic modern training in peace theory and peace research in Latin America.

In 1967 the Latin American School of Political Science and Public Administration joined the World Order Model Project supported by the Institute for World Order, under the direction of Prof.Saul Mendlovitz. This project involves eight nationally and regionally based research teams of scholars whose task is to formulate fully developed models or images of the world in 1990. 2) The purpose of the project is the draft of a model of world order through systematic inquiry into world problems and their solutions. Each of the models prepared by the different teams will be a developed image of a world social, economic, cultural, political, scientific

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2) See: Ian Baldwin, Jr.: Thinking about a new world order for the decade 1990, in War/Peace report. January 1970. Vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 3/7, New York.

and technological, military and legal system in which war has been eliminated and in which peace, economic welfare and social justice have been achieved.

Since 1967, the Latin American School of Political Science and Public Administration has been involved in the World Order Model Project and besides the participation of the director of the school, most of the faculty members have participated in the preparation of working documents for the Latin American model.

The Latin American School of Political Science and Public Administration is also related to the International Peace Academy. The director of the school was invited by the IPA Committee of the International Research Fund, Inc. to the meeting in Brattleboro, Vermont, in October 1969 to plan a detail for pilot programmes scheduled for 1970. These programmes have been successfully developed according to the report of the APAC. 2)

Finally, and regarding the social and economic aspects of peace, the school is related to the activities of the Committee on Society, Development and Peace (SODEPAX) joint venture of the Catholic Church and the World Council of Churches. SODEPAX organizes meetings to discuss the role of the churches in peace building through the reorientation of social and economic development policies. In 1968 a Conference on Society, Development and Peace was organized in Beirut to discuss the role of the churches in world development. 3)

4. External Factors to the Development of a Research and Teaching of Peace and Conflict Resolution Programme in Latin America

4.1 The tradition of Latin America

From the Monroe doctrine to the Cuban crisis, or the Dominican Republic crisis or any other of the United States of America/Latin America potential crises that may arise, there has been in the Western Hemisphere a permanent con-

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2) See: International Peace Academy Committee: Training and Peace Research. Brattleboro, Vermont. 1970 and Report from Vienna: an appraisal of the International Peace Academy Committee's 1970 Pilot Projects. New York, 1970.

3) See: World Development: a Challenge to the Churches. Edited by Denys Munby. Corpus Books. Washington, D.C. 1969.

cern for the peaceful settlement of disputes among Latin American States and particularly a great concern with the strengthening of the principle of non-intervention.

Since the trends of change in the political realm all over the world implies the possibility of conflicts between countries, the need to improve and strengthen the mechanisms for the pacific resolution of the conflict is justified.

There is another aspect that should be mentioned: it is the process of Latin American integration. That is to say the efforts of the Latin American governments to coordinate their policies in order to create within the Latin American area a common market that will improve the possibilities of Latin American social and economic development. A second effect of the Latin American integration will be vis-à-vis the relations with the United States, with Europe, with the socialist countries and the developing nations of Africa and Asia. (Consenso de Viña del Mar and Consenso de Buenos Aires.)

The process of Latin American integration will certainly modify existing procedures of conflict-solving within the Western Hemisphere.

Finally, the acceleration of world-wide processes as consequence of the scientific and technological revolution of our days will impose on Latin American countries the need to participate in the decision-making process affecting world-wide policies, oriented to solve world-wide problems.

Some of the critical world-wide problems that the countries of the world have to solve, the following ones should be mentioned: world trade, world finances, world development, population policies, health, food and housing, education, exploration and exploitation of outer space, ocean beds, communication, human rights, arms control and disarmament. Most of these world-wide problems are in a rapid process of institutionalization. Latin American countries need to participate in these constitutive processes of world-wide jurisdictional mechanisms. In order to get the necessary knowledge to participate in such processes related to arms control and disarmament, Latin American countries need to develop modern institutions concerned with peace research and conflict resolution.

In summary, current trends in Latin America including domestic development and modernization, Latin American economic integration and the characteristics of the world power process, are the main reasons why in Latin America modern studies on peace research and conflict resolution are of fundamental importance. This is especially so if one bears in mind that inequalities among peoples in economic, social and cultural aspects create tensions and conflicts and threaten peace. In Latin America peace is not limited to the absence of war. As Paul VI said in the Encyclical Letter on the development of peoples: "Development is the new name for peace".

PIERRE DELEU (Belgium)

CONFLICT STUDY AND PEACE RESEARCH IN THE REVISED BELGIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

1. Introductory Remarks

In the first place, we want to emphasize the following points:

- We are not intending to propose a global solution to the problem of peace education, or more largely, of conflict education.
- At this stage we do not think it is important for us to establish a set of curriculum units or a new curriculum for the students, nor to write a textbook for students or for teachers; or to create any other set of educational means.
- For a large part, they exist already and they simply have to be adapted to our specific situation.
- On the other hand, we think that the choice of the material, as well as its adaptation, must be done in direct collaboration with the teachers during the period they are following a "recyclage" in conflict study and peace education, in order to avoid some disadvantages of the classical education.
- We only propose to discuss a set of concrete problems concerning peace and conflict education in Belgium. These problems are resulting from the renewal curriculum of these high schools - or secondary schools. 1)

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1) By high schools or secondary schools - the terms are probably not identical in all countries - we understand schools for children from 12 - 13 years till 17 - 18 years. Further we will only use the term: secondary schools.

Some time ago - on proposal of the inspection -, the Minister of Flemish Education formally agreed to the introduction of conflict study, conflict and peace education in all the secondary schools under his juridiction.

As the so-called Free Schools - for the most part Catholic schools - are not under supervision of the Minister of Education, this reform, and the introduction of the matter mentioned, does not apply to them. But, as far as our information goes, the Catholic authorities showed interest, and if our experience succeed they will probably follow.

We hope that, in the near future, collaboration between the two school systems will be possible in this domain.

Some conditions that we accept for the moment as given:

- We accept our reformed school system and the values on which it is based. Thus we accept - for the moment - as a starting point, the new curriculum.
- We feel that a lot of interesting methodological and philosophical questions may arise as to those points; that some fundamental questions concerning the function of education as a technique for integration and education as developing autonomy may arise, but in this context we prefer to face the facts and see what is possible to realize in the actual situation.

Some general principles on which our proposal is based:

1) The subjectmatter that has to be proposed in our schools is not only peace research. We want a broader scope: conflict study, and conflict education. That does not mean conflict resolution but perhaps rather conflict management. We do propose for instance: family conflicts, conflicts in school, labour conflicts, revolution and so on... as conflict - not necessarily defined in marxian way - permeate every society; conflict is surely not a sign of deviation, inadaptation or a symptom of a pathologic personality or society.

   We do not suppose - by giving that general object for education - that there is or is not a continuity between all those sorts of conflict; or an identity between them. We only wish to state that it is important for the education of our young people that they learn to cope with conflicts on every level - but starting from conflicts on their own level. We do not wish to create disillusions nor "defeatism" or demission, by emphasizing conflicts on which they have no immediate grasp, or to let them wander in platonistic idea-world of some so-called lefties. Teachers also have to learn to handel conflicts. They must understand e.g. that questions as "but what can we do about war?" etc. ... are just the questions that lead to immobilism, even if we have magnificent verbalistic answers, because there actually is no introduction to such problems nor a really valid analysis of them, except verbalistic ones.

We do think that, if students become familiar with immediate conflicts, their positive and negative sides, their functions or disfunctions, we can start on a sound base for further education in a non-authoritarian way - if that is our real aim, and not a form of a highly sophisticated lip-service to non-authoritarian education.

2) A second general principle: Individual initiatives are often of a high value, considering moral standards; but we prefer a lesser "height" and prefer solutions embedded in the structure of the educational system. They are more permanent and less easy victims of hazard and too particular situations.

3) A third principle: Realization of autonomy in behaviour, thinking and value judgements as an essential way to a humanistic and humanlike society.

4) Fourth principle: Establishing a therapy against the UNESCO or trotsky'st disease.

This disease is in fact a syndrome with, at least, following components:

- the general is better than the particular or the specific 2)
- the specific is bad
- if reality does not fit in with the "truth", reality is wrong.

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2) i.e. a universal obtained by generali ing a particular set of values formulated in the most abstract moralizing way cfr. nearly every sentence containing the terms humanity, or human kind a.s.o.
The literature published by the UNESCO would be a rich source of analysis. E. Ionesco analyzed another aspect of this problem (Le Monde: 12/7/72)

- confusion between justice and let say anthropology; the former concerns behaviour and attitudes, the latter realities.

  This confusion leads to a new mythology, and denies reality-thinking. But on the other hand in those occasions, reality-thinking is immediately classified as: racism, nationalism, a.s.o. ...

2. "Re-cycling" Teachers

Once we have stated some important premises and qualifications, without trying to be original and complete, we can start with our project, concerning the recyclage of teachers.

We propose to start from a rather trivial statement:

- either the teachers you have are qualified
- or they are not.

In the first case there is no problem, and they probably do not need us much, except if they are polite to us or if they pity us.
In the second case we had better dropped the entire plan being rather optimistic - we prefer to choose the first hypothesis, because we think that we can make use of the principle or the incitive of the self-fulfilling prophecy which we think is paramount in every society, with its cousin and formal opposite: The self-destroying prophecy.

In more concrete terms: if we believe in something, there is more chance that we will obtain it than if we don't believe in it. This seems trivial, but do we have valid studies on that matter?

Some people will disagree with this procedure and will say that it makes no sense to try to teach teachers before you know what has to be taught, what these teachers can teach, and to whom.

This seems a good example of a very classical yes-or-no, all-or-nothing way of "thinking". People try to create in that way paradoxes out of the blue sky or rather out of nothing. This pseudo-intellectualistic approach results on[illegible] in a total blockage of any effort to real progressive and this probably lasting change, and is close to what Lenin called infantilism.

If we agree on the following point that teachers are not necessarily imbeciles, we can immediately continue and state that it is sufficient to redirect them to obtain the results which we want.

This is really the only thing we have to do: consider adults as being adult, even if because of some hierarchical remainders, they are not considered as equals yet.

If we accept the previous statement, it is evident that we have - at least - to avoid some traditional mistakes: (I) indoctrination, (2) overstuffing.

The first point needs no explanation, but the second does not seem so evident. If we want to apply anti-authoritarianism logically and necessity of autonomy as essential elements to conflict and peace education, we only have to give an impulse to the teachers and then give them the opportunity to use - in their way - the information at their disposal.

Starting from those central principles, an institute for recyclage and afterwards for the education of teachers in social studies - and more specifically: conflict study, conflict and peace education - "ONLY" needs to have a restricted number of courses - introducing those matters with an even restricted number of seminars, as application of the given theory and as a way of self-education.
It does not seem to be desirable to aim at completeness.

Those seminars should be considered as examples of a practical or/and a theoretical analysis of a conflict, of conflict management, and in some cases of conflict resolution. But we must bear in mind that conflict resolution (at all costs) is surely not an ideal to be proposed as a final aim of all conflict studies and of conflict education.

We think it is perfectly feasible that one year a seminar be given on family conflicts; another year on revolution and social change, without obligation for the teachers to have followed all possible seminars on all possible subjects in conflict study.

If those courses and seminars are well structured, this solution will be sufficient.

Apart from applying the principles of autonomy and adultness to teachers in a logical way, we also avoid at least two difficulties: (1) overstuffing, (2) problems concerning time. A teacher cannot abandon his normal occupation for a long time. And we are convinced that it is not necessary to force him to do so.

Most specialists in social studies and conflict education will agree on this procedure when it concerns only a recyclage. However, they are perhaps more hesitant when it concerns the normal schooling of teachers in those branches.

Pernaps this is due to our educational system and the self-delusion we sometimes need to continue to earn our living in the way we are doing it. Does there exist an analysis of the efficiency of our teaching - except perhaps on the intergration of the youth and ourselves as a response - in the existing society? I propose no revolution for revolution; but are we aware of what we really are performing?

I myself was quite happy - on afterthought - that the education I received failed for the larger part, even at the university. But here we have an essential question: Must peace education and conflict education go the same way?

But let us conclude: We think it is not necessary to create in Belgium - let us say - a degree in conflict education as such.

It seems that institutes may exist as research centers - perhaps even as action-oriented institutions - but if they accept an educational function - in the sense we used above - they must not think it necessary to take the place of the existing institutes specialized in education.

Our institutes for conflict study must keep to their specific tasks. In our opinion they only can and may have - on the educational level - a supplementary role. That is purely a question of realism.

Creating new institutes or new sections in existing institutes is enormously expensive, and mobilizes a lot of people who could better be used for other and more specific tasks in conflict study and peace research. Perhaps this attitude is inspired by the particular situation in our country where every university has, or tries to have, educational institutes;but in fact no peace or conflict research courses - except at the University of Brussels (Prof.Niezing) for the moment - and, starting officially this year, at the University of Louvain - flemish - (Prof. Werck).

3. Final Remarks

We want - in conclusion - attract attention to two important points:

1) Basic course:

This seems to be the crucial point, but altogether the most delicate one to cope with. There do exist a lot of good courses and textbooks.
A good course in our sense, must contain:

- a critical survey of the attitudes towards conflicts
- the ideologies supporting these attitudes
- an analysis of social structures and institutions related to conflicts
- the functions of conflicts

It is not our intention to propose the creation of an encyclopedia pretending to cover all the possible cases and aspects of conflict. That would not only be pretentious, but in our context quite futile.

A few well-chosen analyses are more than sufficient. We will in that way avoid closed systems that may cut us off from what is happening daily, and put us into moral and intellectual strait-jackets.

2) Information center

The most important task of an institute for recyclage and formation is to provide information. There is an enormous amount of information throughout the world which is not easible available, except to some specialists or members of the institutes resembling them.

Our first problem will be to obtain such information, and to present it in another form than the classical libraries. We want what the French called: une bibliographie raisonné- what means: a commented bibliography, and not simply an enumeration of titles.

4. General Conclusion

We have not gone into details, because we think it is not necessary for this communication. We have stated only the essentials of the proposal we formulated for the Flemish Minister of Education and the higher administration of education in Belgium.

The basic points of this paper have been accepted by the Ministry of Education, and we hope that in the near future we will start with the realization of this program.

But it is evident that we cannot realize this without the effective support of everybody interested in those matters. IPRA already agreed on this point. 3)

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3) I especially thank here Betty Reardon, Johan Galtung, Asbjørn Eide, Hakan Wiberg and Ph. Everts for their effective collaboration.

BEN TER VEER (Netherlands)

DEVELOPING A CURRICULUM FOR PEACE EDUCATION x)

An Approach in the Netherlands

The working group concerned with peace education of the Polemological Institute of the State University of Groningen, and the Foundation for the Upbuilding of Peace ("Vredesopbouw") in The Hague have launched the development of a peace education curriculum. It is aimed at the level of pupils attending the third form of the HAVO, i.e. for 14 and 15 year olds who are not preparing for university entrance.

It is the ambition of the work group that, after the realization of the curriculum, teachers and pupils wanting to discuss problems connected with war and peace, as well as problems about cooperation in the field of development, will be in a position to choose such educational appliances and procedures as they may deem useful to achieve their own aims.

The curriculum will consist of the following parts:

1) a systematic survey of the problems of war and of development;
2) a number of case-studies of conflicts related to these;
3) (as part of each case-study) a discussion of the repercussions which the conflict has on Dutch society at different levels: the so-called Dutch component;
4) a teacher's manual, questions and assignments;
5) an explanatory list of ideas.

The work group's assumption is that it is essential that such a curriculum be developed within the framework of constant discussions between teachers and pupils, authors, didacticians and producers.

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x) As regards the didactic and methodical principles underlying this project, see Heft 3/1970 Friedenserziehung im Schulunterricht, Aus den Niederländischen Studien für Friedensforschung e.V., Bernhard-Borst-Str.3, 8 München 19, Germany.

Method and Planning

The project will require the cooperation of 28 teachers and about 100 pupils. The first permanent group of teachers has already met several times. It consists of seven teams from six schools; a team is composed of a geography teacher and a history teacher. The permanent group of teachers is to meet once every three weeks over a period of 1 1/2 or 2 years.

A permanent group of teachers is to consider four case-studies yearly. This will take place in two periods of ten weeks each, one before and one after the Christmas holidays, two case-studies to either period. Thus a team will devote about two thirds of the school year to problems connected with war and peace and with cooperation in the field of development. The remaining fifteen weeks can be spent by the teachers on the usual syllabus of the third form HAVO.

The meetings of the permanent group of teachers will continue irrespective of their pursuit of the subject in hand in class. During the meetings the objectives and the material used will be evaluated continuously. The information acquired from these meetings will be used for clarifying objectives and improving educational appliances and forms of work.

The second group of teachers is being formed and will operate along the same lines. Thus twelve case-studies be developed between 15 August 1973 and 1 January 1975. If the permanent groups of teachers are willing to do so, and if the financial means required are available, another four case-studies will be tackled between January 1975 and August 1975.

Deliberations are still being held with the Inspectorate for Continued Education about facilities needed by the teachers with a view to departures from the ordinary school curriculum. On the part of the working party and the first permanent group of teachers, alterations have been made in the planning first proposed to ensure the least possible infringement of the curriculum and at the same time to safeguard conditions for fruitful progress. It is the fixed purpose of the working group to operate within the structure of existing education programs.

Working in Teams

The permanent groups of teachers have been made up of teams of teachers of different disciplines, for three reasons:

1) The different aspects of the problems connected with war and peace and with the cooperation in the field of development projects can be treated by the teacher most familiar with them.
2) The members of the team can mutually consider what would be the best way, as classroom work, of treating these problems.
3) The relations within the group between the pupils and the two teachers are a special safeguard for a many-sided discussion.

Composing Discussion Material

Apart from systematic discussions, the following subjects will come up for illustrative purposes:

1) the socio-economic development of Ghana and the renewal of the structures in the cocoa and bauxite industries in the Netherlands;
2) the socio-economic development of the Sudan and the renewal of the structure of the textile industry in the Netherlands;
3) the socio-economic development of Cuba;
4) sugar (cane and beet), and Dutch agricultural policy within the Common Market;
5) deep-sea shipping for the developing countries;
6) the development of Angola and the war of liberation with Portugal;
7) the rise of the Cold War 1945-1949;
8) the Middle East conflict;
9) the Greek coup of 1967;
10) the war in Vietnam;
11) the Cuban crisis of 1962/ arms race, arms control and disarmament;
12) Czechoslovakia 1968.

The first six of these subjects will serve to bring up for discussion essential problems in the field of cooperation for development. In discussing the second group a clarification of the problems connected with war and peace is aimed at. There are also suggestions for subjects of the four case-studies which may be developed from January to August 1975; however, these have not yet taken definite shape. They are:

1) the Dutch policy with regard to development projects
2) Indochina (evolution-revolution);
3) the conflict between India and Pakistan and the birth of Bangladesh;
4) synthetics, Club of Rome, and DD2.

The following considerations have been instrumental in deciding on the subjects to be studied by the pupils:

- the initiators believe it is possible, in using this series of case-studies, to bring up for discussion the essential problems connected with war and peace and with cooperation in the field of development projects;
- it has been taken into account that the case-studies would have to fit in with existing syllabi;
- in certain cases, the topical character of a case-study and the impact of the conflict on post-war developments have been under consideration;
- the involvement of the Netherlands in the conflict is considered, as is:
- the political balance within the whole of the subjects.

The Component Part of the Netherlands

If possible, the case-studies will all contain material relating to:

- the importance of the problem or conflict for Dutch society;
- the process and results of the formation of opinions in certain communities within Dutch society;
- opinions formed and decisions taken by a wide range of Dutch institutions, organizations, and groups, influencing the solution of the problems in question, or intended to do so (the Government, Parliament, political parties, trade union, trade and industry, the Churches, action groups, etc.);
- essential questions for the way in which pupils of these ages shape their own lives and conditions with an analogous relationship with problems on a macro-scale.

Working Group Concerned with Peace Education

The responsibility of the series of case-studies on problems connected with war and peace and with the cooperation in the field of development to be issued will be undertaken by the above working group.

CHRIS A. LEEDS (Great Britain)

PEACE EDUCATION IN BRITAIN

Peace Education can imply one or more of the following:

1. The attempt to focus on better human relationships and improved world-cooperation in all school curriculum courses.
2. Courses on political education, world problems and injustices and discussions of possible remedies for achieving a less violent and more just world.
3. Improved teaching methods to create the right learning environment so that people are able to cope in a more balanced and less non-violent way with life's problems.

Numerous organisations and a growing number of schools, experimenting with "alternative" educational philosophies to "traditional" schooling or with new curriculums, are endeavouring to realise some aspects of peace education. A significant development is the appointment of a Chair of Peace Studies at Bradford University in 1973. Professor Adam Curle aims to start one-year courses for mature students from various professions in 1974 and to develop links with organisations outside the University.

An influential organisation is the Schools Council for Curriculum and Examinations. This is an independent body, though supported by the Government and Local Education authorities, which was founded in 1964.

Since 1967 it has financed numerous projects aiming to offer schools encouragement for starting enquiry-based interdisciplinary courses in place of the traditional subject-based teaching. Each project was run by a different team of educational specialist who were given complete freedom to develop their own teaching techniques and materials.

The Humanities Project, directed by Lawrence Stenhouse at East Anglia University, aimed to widen the understanding of pupils aged 14-16 years of controversial issues, through the use of such multi-media materials as photographs, films, tapes, slides, extracts from books etc. The teaching technique recommended was discussion rather than instruction with the teacher acting as a 'neutral' chairman, maintaining educational values but not 'taking sides' on the issues discussed. This was to avoid the situation of pupils reaching conclusions as a result of the teacher's influence, themselves either acting negatively or positively towards the adult views expressed, rather than forming independent judgements based on the 'evidence' shown by the materials and brought out in discussion.

The controversial issues included Family, Relations between the sexes, Poverty, People and Work, Law and Order and War. Materials in the 'War' pack covered seven main topics, including 1. the feelings towards war of combatants 2. the impact of war on social relationships, 3. problems of individual responsibility, 4. causes, resolution and prevention of wars, 5. problems of standards and justice.

The Moral Education project, directed by Peter McPhail at Oxford University, was also completed in 1972. It was originally inspired by three independent surveys which showed that about 70 % of 15 year-old pupils would welcome help from their schools with their interpersonal relations, and over the questions of right and wrong. The aim of this project was to help young people to be thoughtful and not egocentric in their behaviour, appreciating the needs, interests and feelings of other people as well as their own.

The Integrated Studies Project for the age range 11-15, of which the director is David Bolam at Keele University, explores the possibilities of integrating humanities during the first four years of secondary education. In the first section Exploration Man appears an illustration of how the changing of people's attitudes can be just as constructive as changing the curriculum as an approach to better human relationships. The example was taken from practical experience of working to discover how children in schools perceived the enemy. In place of learning to see symbols such as 'St. George and the Dragon' to personify good and evil, we should try to see the Dragon as it appears in Chinese mythology as a friendly figure. Further one ought to try and discover why in many cases the enemy does not exist as an objective fact, but is only perceived to exist in some other person or group which appears threatening as a projection of our own fears, frustrations and sense of guilt.

All the School Council project materials were intended to provide a basis to which teachers would add their own materials. However, it has been found necessary to devise new methods and facilities for the storage, retrieval and use of multi-media materials. The Schools Council is now undertaking research into problems facing schools and authorities wishing to develop resource centres.

In April 1973 the Schools Council approved a major three-year project of the National Foundation for Education Research into the provision of teaching materials on 'Education for a multi-racial society', for the use by pupils from 6 to 16 years of age. It will include a teachers' guide, on how to use such material as poetry and music concerning the Caribbean and India, suggesting links between subjects such as history, geography, economics and cooking.

Primary education has been gruadually implementing progressive ideas over the last 20 years to develop non-streamed, co-operative, participatory and creative schools. However, a number of secondary schools do reflect a variety of alternative educational philosophies. These include Countesthorpe College, Summerhill School in Dorset, Wyndham School in Cumberland, and a number of 'Free' schools, which have developed in Liverpool, Leeds and London.

The Council for Education in World Citizenship, the educational wing of the United Nations Association, has about 1,300 schools and 25 teacher training colleges as members. Though about two-thirds of its work concerns the United Nations, one-third is with providing factual, informed material on World Affairs for use in schools by pupils from 9-16 years of age. Advice is given on the use of audio-visual materials, and an annual week's conference on a world issue is held each year for about 3,000 pupils aged 16-18.

The Atlantic Information Centre for Teachers, founded in 1963, by the Atlantic Treaty Organisation, provides teachers in Western Europe and North America with regular publications on all aspects of current international affairs, and acts as a clearing house of information on methods and teaching aids.

Many teacher training centres in colleges of education such as Edgehill, Madeley or in institutes or departments of education of universities such as London, Bristol, Durham, Keele, have for many years arranged courses on International Relations for their students. Valuable ideas on school developments throughout the world are contained in "New Era", the journal of the World Education Fellowship, of which the Chairman is Dr. James Henderson of the Institute of Education, London University. The difficulty is that students sometimes become discouraged since schools allow little opportunity for teaching International Relations in school. During the last five years 20th century World History has become increasingly popular as an area of study, however, and former students of International Studies have helped in getting Examination Boards in organising realistic courses in world problems for pupils aged 14-18. (The East Aglian C.S.E. syllabus includes an examination on World Problems which covers many issues such as the problem of the shrinking world, the clash of nationalism, ideologies and race; war; imbalance of world wealth.)

Much specialist literature relevant to Peace Education is available from numerous other organisations which are interested in education, such as the Minority Rights Group and such peace groups as Fellowship of Reconciliation and Peace Pledge Union. The Voluntary Committee on Overseas Aid and Development (VCOAD) of which nine Aid organisations including Oxfam and Christian Aid, are members, and the

Haslemere Group have produced valuable material on the Third World, the North-South problem, Multi-national companies and the economies behind the distribution of certain basic commodities such as Sugar, Coffee and Cocoa. An educational charity, Anti-Poverty, was started in 1971 and since then its staff have been working with the help of secondary schools in the Oxford area to produce educational materials on development issues. Case studies have been produced, for example, concerning a shanty town in Nairobi, and a cattle farm in Botswana.

The Third World First organisation is a University student group which has produced valuable school material on Third World problems.

The idea of 'Rights Education' has been popularised by the Cobden Trust, the research and educational wing of the National Council for Civil Liberties. It has helped stimulate public debate on children's rights and is working to achieve greater participation by pupils in the running of schools. Towards Racial Justice is an organisation presently publishing the injustice of the educational system which has allowed a high proportion of West Indian children mistaken to be classified as educationally subnormal in intelligence tests, and placed in special schools as a result of their background and culture rather than their mental capabilities.

Teachers gainst Racism started in 1973 with the objective of involving all races into undertaking 1. research into racial violence, 2. encouragement of the writing of textbooks for children particularly by ethnic minorities.

The Education Advisory Committee of the Parliamentary Group for World Government has encouraged useful work on International Understanding. One useful publication was the study of Cyprus school history textbook, giving extracts from Greek and Turkish sources and illustrating how this was basically education for international misunderstandings. Under its auspices a World Studies Project was started in January 1973 directed by Mr. Robin Richardson to develop materials for school use. (A sub-committee is organising a "one World Song Competition" for primary school pupils this autumn.)

The Conflict Research Society aims to promote research and the extension of knowledge in the field of Conflict and Peace Research at the Richardson Institute. In the educational field, a ore-day seminar for teachers on 'The Teaching of Conflict Studies' was held in January, 1973,where focus was placed on the different dimensions of conflict, such as the social, psychological, economic, political and international aspects. A working party sub-committee is now preparing a resource pack of materials for use by teachers as a preliminary step to interesting an examination board to develop a curriculum in this field for the 14-16 age group.

Some members of peace groups in Britain, such as Pax Christi, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Society of Friends and the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission are helping in an independent venture to produce a 90 page Peace Handbook for use by peace groups, teachers, youth leaders etc. in 1975. The three sections are: 1. Information on War and Peace Issues, 2. Action suggestions on how individuals can help the peace movement, 3. Resources, list of bibliographies, relevant peace organisations etc.

Useful work is also being carried on in education by other groups and organisations but enough of them have been mentioned to indicate the rich variety of activities being undertaken. Greater co-ordination between them in the future might enable greater impact to be made on the educational system.

List of Organisations

1. Schools Council Information Section, 160 Great Portland Street, London WIN 6 LL
2. Dr. James Henderson, Chairman, World Education Fellowship, Institute of Education, London University, Malet treet, London, WC IE 7H5
3. Dr. Otto Pick, Director, Atlantic Information Centre For Teachers, 23/25 Abbey House, 8 Victoria Street, London, S.W. 1
4. Mr. Terence Lawson, O.B.E., The Secretary, Council for Education in World Citizenship, 93 Albert Embankment, London, S.E. 1
5. Mr. Robin Richardson, Director, World Studies Project, 37, Parliament Street, London, S.W. 1
6. Mr. Michael Nicolson, Director, The Richardson Institute For Conflict and Peace Research, 1958, North Gower Street, London, NW 1 2 ND.

JUDITH V. TORNEY (USA)

POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION RESEARCH IN THE UNITED STATES

> Q: Now I want to ask you some questions where I want you to use your imagination a little in answering. First, what do you think the world is going to be like in 20 years?
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> A: I think the world in the future will be much more impersonal than it is now. It will be more like a utopian society where everything will be solved and everybody will be just another number instead of an individual thing as it is now. In some respects this is better, in some it's not. There won't be any prejudices if everybody is a number because everybody will be content with what they got probably. They'll have a closed mind on that, and whatever they were put to be, whatever they were born to be that's what they'll stay. They won't change.

This view of the future expressed by a fourteen-year-old American boy may be shocking to most of us but deserves our attention and interest. Whatever our operating definition of peace education, the future envisioned here is not the kind of world which any of us would look forward to as providing a meaningful kind of world peace. But the purpose of this paper is not to delineate the content of educational objectives which would provide alternative visions for a world of the future. Rather it is to comment briefly on what is known from research in the social sciences concerning attitudes necessary for attaining the kind of world where war and violence will be a less common recourse in attempts to solve human dilemmas.

A number of organizations in the United States have engaged in peace education and in programs directed toward international understanding, education in the service of a world order, and global perspective. A partial list of these organizations and their publications is included at the end of this article. It would be impossible to describe fully all of these programs in the short space allotted here. Instead I would like to explore the way in which peace education programs could be made more effective. In other words, how can our accumulating knowledge about the ways in which social and political attitudes develop in children help us to build a more solid foundation for our peace education efforts.

Concern with political socialization and the measurement of outcomes of civic education in terms of attitudes as well as of knowledge originated about fifteen years ago with political scientists (primarily Americans) who were seeking to understand how established political systems ensured the development of supportive attitudes in the children who would be the adult citizens of the future. Many of these early studies found it necessary to establish that political matters are in fact important to young people. Previously it had been assumed that it was pointless to question young people about their political views until they had reached voting age. This point of view was, of course, more common in the early 1960's, before students voiced their political demands so forcefully in the United States. It has now become clear that the attitudes which take shape during the pre-adult years do have a distinct impact upon the climate of political attitudes of the future. In a real sense we are creating our own future through the kind of education we are providing to children in the present.

Early political socialization studies also established that the definition of political attitudes should include much more than choice of political party and candidate preference 1). In spite of this, however, research conducted by political scientists is still likely to concentrate on partisanship and on such dimensions as political efficacy (the feeling that the citizen can influence his government), sources of political advice, and the matter of allegiance to the national government and its leaders, many of which are derived from studies of adult voting behavior. The International Association for the Evaluation of International Achievement (I.E.A.), in its recent Civic Education study of students in ten nations 2), has included measures of support for democratic values, of tolerance for dissent, and of perceptions of agencies like the United Nations, Welfare Agencies, and Labor Unions in addition to the variables more commonly used in political socialization studies.

Early political socialization studies concentrated upon domestic political units and issues; more recently such investigations have been broadened and have shown more interest in the way in which the child acquires a view of the world as an interacting social system. A major trend for the future will be to determine how political socialization in the international as well as in the domestic sphere is achieved. This is quite compatible with recommendations of the Becker report, a study completed in 1969 under the auspices of the Foreign Policy Association :

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1) Robert Hess and Judith V. Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children. Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1967.

2) Bram Oppenheim and Judith Torney, The Measurement of Civic Attitudes in Children of Different Nations. Stockholm: I.E.A., 1973.

> Schools must help young people to develop an international understanding, and not an international understanding in the way we've traditionally used it--the sort of strange-lands and friendly people approach. Instead students must be led toward the understanding of the world as a single unit so that the schools will be, in effect, transmitting to the next generation a rich image of the total earth 3).

The organizations which are most actively working in the United States on peace education frequently combine concern for peace with concern for giving children this kind of international perspective. Not only are more studies being done of children's world orientations but generalizations from both domestic and international studies of political socialization are being made.

First, an important topic of study in both this and other countries is children's conception of the proper relation between the individual citizen and his government. Findings concerning the development of feelings of political efficacy become particularly relevant here because it is often the actions of a government concerning foreign policy and war with which citizens disagree. The impression that many children in the U.S. have of the individual's political efficacy may be characterized as being based upon a "personal clout illusion", a belief that the individual citizen acting by himself can make the government pay attention to his opinion and change its policy. The young child who reported in 1962 that the citizen can "call up the President at the White House and tell him what he thinks" illustrates this primitive sense of citizen efficacy. In the United States, children were taught during the 1950's from social studies curricula which promoted this impression of primitive efficacy without explaining complex aspects of political processes. One result of this omission was a generation of college students of which many reacted in frustration and anger when they discovered that the government was not as responsive to citizen appeals as they had come to believe in their earlier school years.

Second, some political socialization studies have pointed out that while international conflict tends to appear early in the child's view of the world, he tends to perceive domestic conflict very little, if at all. Connell 4) in an interview study of Australian children refers to the "threat schema", which incorporates the child's positive nationalistic feelings with the perception of the existence of enemies of his country. This usually results in an intensification of support for the domestic status quo and the belief that the child's personal security will otherwise be in danger. For example, these children in Australia believed that if the

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3) See David C. King's summary of Becker report in International Education for Spaceship Earth. Foreign Policy Association, 1970.

4) R.W. Connell, The Child's Construction of Politics. Melbourne, Australia: Melbourne University Press, 1971.

Viet Cong were not stopped in Vietnam, their next attempt would be an invasion of Australia. Similar work by Cooper 5) has confirmed that many attitudes and concepts of war and international conflict bear a close relationship both to the child's needs and to his cognitive abilities.

Third, there are many parallels between the way in which children understand the domestic political system and the schemas which they use in understanding the international world. For example, children know a great deal more about structures which can be identified in the government (Congress and the Supreme Court in the U.S.) than they know about political processes (group pressure, compromise, etc.). Likewise, they are more familiar with structures in the international realm (the United Nations, the particular characteristics of other countries) than they are with processes such as negotiation and diplomacy. To children, the complexities of international affairs are as unfamiliar as the comparable aspects of the domestic system. As a result, particularly at young age levels, they often embrace a simple pacifism in much the same way that they embrace the notion of simple efficacy. In answer to the question "How would you keep countries from fighting" (in wars), these were typical responses:

Age six: Make a law and put all the war people in jail.

Age nine: Teach people not to fight.

Age eleven: Send letter to congressmen. You have to work for it to have peace.

Age twelve: Elect the right government people, people who are for peace.

Young children need help in understanding the complexity of the world order so that they may have a basis for reacting intelligently to its problems as they grow older. Indoctrination with simple pacifism, the idea that war is bad and peace is good, is futile unless some direction to this conviction is provided, as suggested by the older children quoted above. Alvik in his study also concluded that

> rather than applauding undertakings such as children's selling United Nations emblems... we should recommend parents and teachers continuously to help the children to analyze any conflict situation in terms of values fought for, and in terms of what can specifically be done to prevent a conflict or to solve it once it has broken out ... undertakings which deliberately train functions, rather than rely upon the power of words alone to inform children about war as a conflict situation and peace as ... a pattern of active cooperation 6).

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5) Peter Cooper, "The Development of the Concept of War", Journal of Peace Research, 2, 1965, 1-17.

6) Trond Alvik, "The Development of Views on Conflict, War and Peace Among School Children: A Norwegian Case Study", Journal of Peace Research, 5, 1968, 171-95, p. 189.

Fourth, as demonstrated both by the interviews quoted above and by substantial psychological research on attitude development, middle childhood appears to be a period in which there are few preconceptions about the world. For this reason it is likely to be a critical period for attitude formation 7). Lambert and Klineberg 8) in the late 1950's interviewed 3.300 children (aged 6, 10 and 15) from eleven different parts of the world. They concluded, at least for their American sample that children of about 10 years of age were particularly receptive to approaches to foreign people but that this open-mindedness to international understanding declined after that time so that by 14 years of age there was an unfortunate tendency to stereotype people and characteristics of other countries. Jahoda 9) also discovered a considerable difference between the attitudes of young and older children, with the shift beginning at about 10 or 12 years of age in Scottish children. Other research has frequently found the period from ages 7 to about 12 to be a time of great plasticity of attitudes and behaviors. By 13 or 14, the child is more likely to have a fixed perspective about himself, his culture and his country. The lack of such a rigid outlook at age 7 or 8 makes the individual much more receptive to an international or global view. Indeed, an eight-year-old who has seen with the astronauts a view of our planet from outer space may be more capable than his teacher of viewing the world as a single interacting social system.

Piaget, whose work has had a profound effect on education, also suggests reasons why middle childhood may be such a critical period for peace education 10). By seven or eight years of age the child moves into a new and qualitatively different form of cognitive functioning. Egocentrism diminishes and the child becomes able to view the world about him from perspectives other than his own. This ability is important in its relation to social attitudes since the ability to see things from the perspective of another person is probably a necessary prerequisite to acceptance of characteristics of persons from other cultural backgrounds.

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7) Judith Torney and Donald Morris, Global Dimensions of U.S. Education: The Elementary School. New York: Center for War/Peace Studies, 1972.

8) Wallace E. Lambert and O. Klineberg, Children's Views of Foreign People. New York: Appleton-Century, Crofts, 1967.

9) Gustav Jahoda, "Development of Scottish Children's Ideas and Attitudes About Other Countries", Journal of Social Psychology, 58, 1962, pp. 91-108.

10) See John Flavell, The Developmental Psychology of Jean Piaget. New York: Van Nostrand, 1963; also

John Flavell, Patricia Botkin, and C.L. Fry, The Development of Role Taking and Communication Skills in Children. New York: Wiley, 1968.

The ability to change perspective is also important to an understanding of the moral issues involved in war. Young children, when asked how it is possible to decide who is right and who is wrong when there is a war, comment often that "the one who wins is right". It is only the older children, and we may suspect children who have considerable ability in taking the perspective of others, who give answers such as, "No country is right or wrong. Each one believes that it is right or it wouldn't be fighting. But it depends on your point of view about which is right and which is wrong. Nobody can say for sure who is right."

Attitude research in general and political socialization research in particular suggest that the years between ages 7 and 12 are unique. They come before too many stereotypic attitudes dominate the child's view of the world and are concurrent with the period in which the child's cognitive development is sufficiently advanced to accept a diversity of viewpoints. This is the time when peace education should begin in order to achieve maximum impact.

A final point arising from political socialization research which has a distinct bearing on peace education is the realization that children receive messages from what they see and hear that their teachers, and others with whom they are involved, do not actually intend to convey. Even the fact that controversial issues are avoided in the classroom may tell students more about controversy than a lecture on freedom of speech. The map of the world, especially in versions printed in the United States, is often constructed from a perspective that shows the North and South American continents placed at the center, with the oceans and the other continents serving as borders. This transmits rather effectively (no matter how unintentionally) a particular view of the world.

In conclusion, it should be clear that political socialization research helps to attune us to the various processes by which children acquire social and political attitudes and in doing this points to the need to move away from rote teaching (which assumes that children can understand and assimilate statements of vague ideals) and toward a dynamic process of education which is aware both of intended and unintended meanings in the communication of ideas, makes use of the critical period of attitude development, and gives children an active conception of their role in a world without war.

Brief Descriptions of Selected Organizations with American Base Which Are Conducting Peace Education and International Education Programs

Organizations with Particular Peace Education Functions

American Freedom from Hunger Foundation
1717 H Street N.W., Room 437, Washington, D.C. 20006

Sponsors the world-wide Freedom from Hunger Campaign in the United States. Seeks through a variety of films and other teaching aids to inform the American public about the nature of world hunger problems and the need for technical assistance and other aid programs. Works primarily with private organizations. Their "Walks for Development" have raised funds for such programs both at home and abroad.

American Friends Service Committee
16o North 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 191o2

For over fifty years the AFSC has expressed Quaker concerns for peace and world brotherhood through domestic and international programs of service, relief and education. Its domestic programs of peace education and action seek to apply pacifist belief to current war/peace issues.

Center for War/Peace Studies
218 E. 18th Street, New York, N.Y. 1ooo3

The Center for War/Peace Studies through an active publication program during the last two years has presented a variety of approaches to peace education programs at the pre-adult level. Their materials also list a variety of other organizations and materials. Particularly useful materials to request are *Intercom: A Resource Guide and Program Catalyst on War/Peace Issues*- Volume 12, "Education on War, Peace, Conflict, and Change"; Volume 13, "Teaching About War, Peace, Conflict, and Change"; Volume 17, " Teaching About Spaceship Earth", (U.S.- 1.5o Dollar each), also *Global Dimensions of U.S.Education* ("The Elementary School" by Judith Torney and Donald Morris; "The Secondary School" by James Becker and Maurice East - each 1.5o Dollar).

Institute for World Order
11 West 42nd Street, New York, N.Y. 1oo36

An educational organization which seeks to promote an understanding of the role of law in the construction of a peaceful world order. Works principally with schools, colleges and universities and sponsors teacher-training programs, seminars, curriculum conferences and contests.

World Without War Education Fund (Midwest)
7245 S.Merrill Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60649

Links leaders of a variety of organizations in a planning, catalytic and communications center for work toward a world without war. Regional Councils exist in the Midwest, the Pacific Northwest and California. Conducts programs of peace internships,leadership training, publication, organizational consulting and pre-adult education.

Professional Organizations

American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education
One Dupont Circle, Washington, D.C. 20036

The AACTE is currently surveying the international dimension of teacher-education programs. Its program development may be summarized as follows: "The aim is not to create another department ... focusing on international studies alone. This is additive in nature and therefore subject not only to the competitive pressures of other components in the program but susceptible to segregation from the mainstream of teacher education, thereby blunting its potential impact. Rather, the major objective is to infuse all teacher education and related general studies activities with an awareness of the multi-faceted, often overlapping relationships and contexts that characterize the modern world."[11]

The Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development
1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

ASCD has participated in peace education activity under the sponsorship of a World Conference on Education at Asilomar in 1970, a World Curriculum Organization currently under development and a recent yearbook with a focus on peace education.

The National Council for the Social Studies
1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

Each convention of this large organization of social studies teachers, curriculum developers, and university professors includes several sessions organized around the theme of peace. Their 38th Annual Yearbook published in 1968 under the editorship of James Becker was entitled, *International Dimensions of Social Studies*; frequent articles on related topics appear in their periodical, *Social Education*.

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11) Frank Klassen, "International Education: Challenge/Response," *AACTE Bulletin*, 1971, p.3.

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